













QUARTERLY OBSERVER



THE



**AMERICAN**

**QUARTERLY OBSERVER.**

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**VOL. III.**

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**BOSTON:**

**PUBLISHED BY PERKINS, MARVIN, & CO.**

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**1834.**



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# QUARTERLY OBSERVER.

No. V.

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JULY, 1834.

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## ARTICLE I.

### POLITICAL ECONOMY OF INTEMPERANCE.

THE connection between intemperance and the laws of individual and national wealth, has never been very fully or distinctly pointed out. It is to be hoped that a subject of such interest will, ere long, find some able author to bring it before the public mind in a manner worthy of its importance.

The following pages are not supposed to develope or illustrate this connection with much fullness or clearness; but the author of them, hopes that they may stimulate more powerful minds to a pursuit of the investigation therein attempted.\*

The first great agent employed in the production of wealth, is *physical strength*; that power of "bone and brawn and sinew," which man calls into exercise in the performance of every kind of bodily labor.

It need only be said, in order to meet with full and hearty assent, that, of two nations, possessing in other respects equal advantages of acquiring wealth, that one will most surely and rapidly grow rich which possesses the greatest amount of active physical power;—whose laboring citizens are either most numerous, or most vigorous. Is not this evidently and necessarily true? It is no less true of families

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\* We have not yet seen the prize essay of the Hon. Mark Doolittle, on this subject, but are led to expect much in relation to it by the known ability of its author, and his devotion to the temperance cause.

and individuals than of nations, that superiority of strength occasions superiority of wealth. Look at any two farms in this or any other vicinity, of equal fertility, but one of which is under the culture of twice as many persons, or of persons twice as robust and healthy; which yields the largest profits? Look into any scene of labor, the field or the workshop, and you can instantly perceive which one of all employed as workmen, can perform the heaviest task, and command the highest wages.

If, then, an individual or a community, be operated on by any cause which diminishes health and bodily energy, that individual and community are necessarily rendered poorer, and the fact is not varied, let the operating power be what it may:—be it climate, or disease, or modes of subsistence. Within the tropics the action of heat is so debilitating to the race of whites, that on an average, they cannot perform half the labor which constitutes the easy daily task of the blacks, who love the hottest sun. Were half our population diseased, they could not keep pace, in either labor or wealth, with the other and healthy half:—So that a sickly season is always less productive than one of ordinary health; as we have all been taught by observing with what deadly certainty “famine dogs the steps” of the plague, in countries visited by that terrible pestilence. So, also, the use of such food as contributes little to invigorate the system, or which tends to the reduction of its powers, must of course, to some extent, retard the progress of wealth. Let one of our hale, and hard-working farmers, men of broad shoulders, and giant strength, and untiring vigor, abandon his customary diet of animal food, and macerate himself with those thin gruels, and coarse breads, and meagre vegetables which sustain the feeble frame of a city dyspeptic, and we venture to say that his harvests would look as lean and starved, as he himself, at the summer’s end!

We all feel ready to allow the truth of this principle, and the force of these illustrations. Let us proceed in the next place to exhibit the connection existing by means of this principle, between the use of ardent spirit and the accumulation of wealth. Physicians inform us that no healthy person is ever benefited by this use. To this declaration, emanating as it does, from the most eminent medical men of our chief cities, we are bound to yield unqualified belief. Now, let us ask, how would a plain, common-sense man

reason upon this declaration, supposing that physicians carried it no further? Would he not argue somewhat in this manner: 'If ardent spirit be not beneficial, it must be injurious; a fluid so hot and stimulating, which in small doses so strongly affects my feelings, and which, when largely taken, destroys the control of the will over the body, and reduces the body to insensibility, cannot be neutral in its operation; it must be a great good, or a great evil. I know that my physical system is a very delicate piece of machinery:—as Watts so truly calls it "a harp of thousand strings;" a trifling cause deranges its movements; by a slight change the fluid that fills my veins is converted as it were into fire; the complex system of my nerves is easily shocked, and sometimes, by a single glass, the wonderful chemistry of my digestive functions is disturbed, and apparently converted into a laboratory of poison, instead of nutriment, for my eyes become inflamed, my skin red and ulcerated, my nose lights up like a beacon-fire, my sleep is broken, and my whole physical organization seems to be thrown into confusion.'

So would a sensible man reason, and reason truly. He would find arguments in every tremulous hand, and blushing cheek, and reddened eye. Every breath from intemperate lungs would waft the odorous conviction; every carbuncle on his nose would urge its silent eloquence; every hiccough would speak aloud the indisputable truth.

But physicians further inform us that alcohol contains no nutriment. Our readers are aware that there is scarcely to be found another substance in the kingdom of nature, solid or fluid, which will not yield some little nourishment if taken into the stomach. We have all read of the shipwrecked mariner, reduced in his hour of starvation to the necessity of eating even his shoes. Amidst the horrors of a siege, the famished garrison have often devoured their leathern belts, and an inch of horse-skin has been quarreled for as a dainty. Of such things can the stomach make healthy food; but not so of alcohol, which defies the power of digestion. Received into the abused system, it is hurried from one organ to another, as an enemy, each rejecting it in turn, until it is taken by "the emunctories, the scavengers of the system," and excluded from the body, just as it came from the distillery itself. Such being the case, it is manifest that were alcohol absolutely harmless in its nature, its use would be a physical injury. For whatever employs without nourishing the sys-



tem, occasions a useless waste of its energies, and induces debility. What would be thought of a man who should daily swallow a pint of saw-dust, or a pound of sand? Yet in these substances would be found more nutriment than in all the alcohol distilled.

But we must go still further to learn the extent of the physical damage inflicted by the use of ardent spirit. It not only sets in motion the functions of the body, but, by its fiery stimulus, forces them into the most rapid and furious career. Thus it heats the blood, and, increasing its circulation, drives the fevered torrent, like a stream of burning lava, with resistless violence through vein, and artery, and heart, and lungs, and brain; subjecting them all to a tremendous pressure, such as that which in a steam-engine defies the resistance of the strongest materials, and the control of the greatest skill in the moment of explosion. Under the impulse of such unnatural excitement, labor is impossible, and strength is a useless attribute. When the pressure of excitement is removed, the system is left exhausted and unstrung, like that of a person emerging from a paroxysm of pain or of insane effort; so that the hand falls feebly by the side, and the knees quiver beneath their burden. This alternation of languor and stimulus is life's worst enemy. Not more destructive to the verdant banks of a mountain rivulet are the vicissitudes of the frosts of winter and the floods of spring, than is this succession of exaltation and depression to our perishable bodies. By an exhausting process, horrible alike in its rapidity and results, it strips of strength the mightiest frame, and prostrates in the dust the hardiest constitution.

The intemperate, (by which term we would have it understood that we mean to include every person who uses unnatural stimulus,)—the intemperate are always predisposed to disease of every description. Their principle of vitality is so weak that it can make no resistance to the smallest attack. Circumstances which pass unnoticed by men of correct habits, are always inconvenient, and frequently fatal, to those who are in the habit of using intoxicating beverages. A change of the wind unfits them for labor. A variation in the temperature of the atmosphere stops short the tide of life in mid-career. "Let but the ordinary heat of summer be a little increased, and they melt at their labor, or are thrown into fever. Let the ordinary cold of winter be a

few degrees heightened, and they fall frozen by the roadside. Let but the cholera appear in our land, and they fall before it like the first born of Egypt before the angel of death." After learning these facts, and watching the history of disease and of accident, our physicians have told us that more than half of all the diseases and deaths by which our country is afflicted, are occasioned by intemperance. It is said that 30,000 individuals, annually, perish from the midst of us in consequence of strong drink. It may, therefore, also be said, that of hundreds of thousands the physical powers are vastly diminished, and their means of acquiring property reduced in like proportion.

What tongue can rightly declare the immense amount of loss thus inflicted upon our country! How great the waste of time! How great the loss of vigor! How numerous the expenses of the sick! How expensive the support of those now robbed of him on whom they depended for sustenance! How fatal the inroads of death upon the class of laborers!

A strong illustration of the folly and unnaturalness of intemperate habits is furnished by the arrangements of nature in respect to climate. Within the torrid zone, the fiery influences of the sky produce upon man the same effects which in all climates follow the use of ardent spirit. In those southern regions, where labor and exposure would speedily induce debility, disease, and death, the fertile soil, and the almost spontaneous and inexhaustible abundance of natural fruits, render labor nearly needless; a few hour's care, in the cool twilight of morning or evening, is enough to secure a full supply for every want; so that the child of the sun may fly from lassitude and heat to congenial shadows and repose:—

—“to citron groves;  
To where the lemon and the piercing lime,  
With the deep orange, glowing through the green,  
Their lighter glories blend. Lay him reclined  
Beneath the spreading tamarind, that shakes,  
Fanned by the breeze, its fever-cooling fruit.  
Deep in the night the massy locust sheds,  
Quench his hot limbs; or wander through the maze,  
Embowering endless, of the Indian fig.—  
Or, stretched amid these orchards of the sun,  
Delighted drain the cocoa's milky bowl,  
And from the palm draw forth its freshening wine,  
More bounteous far than all the frantic juice  
Which Bacchus pours!”\*

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\* Thomson's *Summer*, slightly varied.

But how different is the condition of northern climates! Around us, who people this frosty zone, we behold no such provision of fertile soil or fever-cooling fruit, to mitigate the evils inflicted by that burning climate which is kindled in the veins by alcohol. Our rugged and rocky fields demand incessant toil; and all our food is stimulating. He therefore, who, by artificial means, subjects himself to the torrid influences of inflammatory habits, creates the necessity of an idleness that must reduce him to poverty, or subjects himself to that debility and disease which will finally cut short his life, or cast him upon the public charity. Thus does the voice of nature declare the wickedness and folly of intemperance. Allow us to say that the voice of nature is echoed from the book of revelation, which tells us that no drunkard can inherit the kingdom of heaven.

Let us now direct our readers' attention to what may be called *the second great agent in the production of individual and of national wealth*;—which is *intellectual power*, that power which discovers and employs the most efficient means of producing a desired result. Without this second quality, of small avail is physical strength. Let me possess the corporeal powers of a giant, if they be not under the guidance of mind, I am as helpless as the monster Cyclops, whose eye was extinguished by the companions of Ulysses, the magnitude of whose muscular force was as likely to prove ruinous as beneficial. The wildest lunatic in our madhouses, and the greatest idiot that ever appeared in human form, may possess the splendid figure of an Apollo, and the colossal energies of a Hercules. But how useless this whole array of physical perfection, at least so far as concerns the substantial affairs of life? But we have only to look around amongst our neighbors to become convinced that as a general rule, in the industrious part of the community, those are most successful whose natural talents or acquired knowledge are greatest, or whose intellect is most zealously applied to their business; those, in short, who put forth most intellectual effort in their daily labor.

We are all aware that the mind can become intoxicated. We are familiar with that intimate connection between this perishable body and the immortal principle by which it is inhabited, whereby the smallest affection of the one is communicated to the other. We are sadly made acquainted with the fact that the same vile habits which injure and



destroy the body, drag down the soul also from its lofty soarings, and debase it to the dust, until it loses every mark of its celestial origin.

The mind never acts with full force and efficiency, except when all its faculties are in a healthy and natural state; when the body is forgotten, and physical excitement or depression is wholly unfelt. The intemperate are therefore never in the condition best adapted to vigorous intellectual exercise. Their minds are either under unnatural stimulus, or lost in insensibility, or borne down by that lassitude and depression which always follow debauch. In the first of these stages the understanding or judgment, (or whatever you please to call the reasoning faculty,) is enfeebled or dethroned; the imagination, that most dangerous power of the mind, is wrought up to unnatural action, and casts its deceptive spell over the whole soul. Under such circumstances no man is to be trusted—no man can act discreetly. This is the stage of the intoxicating process that once gave character to our fourth-of-July dinners, and convivial parties; nay, not unfrequently to our very ordinations. This is the hour of indecent jest, and immodest songs, and foolish toasts, and ribald story, and idiot laughter; when hiccoughing patriotism exults in the freedom of licentiousness, and celebrates the liberty of folly.

At such times the mind of the intemperate is in the right frame to make bad bargains, or commit any other act of folly to be repented of at leisure. They will buy or sell at ruinous prices, or throw away their most precious property, or obey like slaves the bidding of cool and clear-headed knavery. Did you never see a jug of brandy, or a decanter of gin, placed conspicuously forth for gratuitous use at an auction? If not, your eyes have missed a very common spectacle. Under the inspiration of this spirit "*old* things pass away, and all things become *new*." The purchaser's eyes are widely opened to discover in the commodities offered for sale, beauties and excellences which a sober man cannot even conceive of, and which, alas, have vanished with the return of sobriety on the following morning.

Of how little value, under such circumstances, is the strongest intellect that ever boldly grappled, or nobly overcame difficulty!

But the second stage of intemperance is insensibility—the total suspension of all the mental, and almost all the bodily

functions;—when the inebriate lies, in the semblance of death, beneath the convivial table, or in the gutter by the road-side, or perhaps upon his own floor, surrounded by his weeping wife and affrighted children:—when *man*, that immortal being, whose destiny for eternity is decided in this world—that rational being, whose intellect, after having conquered to its own purposes of profit or of pleasure, every element of the world around him, has ranged through the universe of matter and of mind, studied into all mysteries, and learned all knowledge—*man*, created in the very image of God Almighty—presents to our view such a picture of debasement and brutal degradation as is never exhibited by the meanest animal, or the vilest reptile that walks or crawls upon the face of the earth!

As well, for all the purposes of life, might such an one be trodden into his grave; nay, far better would it be that his body were mingled with its kindred dust, than that it should thus remain, a cause of loss, and a curse to society; and so far as his soul is concerned, it would be well “were a mill-stone hanged about his neck, and he cast into the depths of the sea!”

The third stage of intemperance shows us the miserable victim of this habit recovered from his insensibility, and robbed of his strong excitement, his mind as well as his body unstrung, and his spirits depressed, so that he abhors all forms of labor, and can scarcely endure the weight of mere existence. Discontent and restlessness haunt him like spectres; he is goaded on by an impatient thirst after the poisoned bowl; his powers of resistance are destroyed, and though he may be conscious that indulgence will prove fatal, he returns again and again to the fountain of ruin. If we believe, therefore, that in every department of human labor, the free and healthful movement of the mind is necessary to any considerable degree of success, we must infer from what has now been said, that the intemperate, as a class, can never attain success in the accumulation of wealth. The truth of this inference, and the real effect of intemperate habits, cannot be more forcibly illustrated than by the contrast afforded by a couple of farms, the one of which has long been under the care of a sober, intelligent, well-informed husbandman, whose heart is in his labor, who reads the papers, and keeps even pace with all the improvements of the day; while the other is conducted by a man whose daily toil is commenced by a

libation to the god of wine, and whose composing draught at even-tide is ardent spirit; whose body is so hot in summer that he must cool it with alcohol, and whose blood is in winter so frosty, that he must warm it with the same good creature.

In the one picture you behold a smiling landscape; in the centre a neat and substantial farmhouse, echoing, perhaps, to the merry music of a tribe of rosy children; flanked by numerous and well-painted barns, and granaries, and out-houses; surrounded by every indication of plenty: in the distance, fair fields under perfect culture extending in every direction, with here and there a group of healthy and hardy workmen, whose implements of labor are of the most approved construction; and the whole scene bounded by an inclosure of fences whose good order bespeaks the master-spirit that reigns over this whole display of rustic beauty. This is the abode of temperance!

Approach now the other picture, and behold the broken inclosures, inviting the trespass of every rambling intruder; the once-comfortable house now shattered and weather-worn; its clapboards brown with age and moss, and clattering at every gust; its windows crammed with old hats, or patched with bits of shingle; the roof of the barn broken in and gaping to the elements; fragments of carts, and ploughs, and other tools strewing the yard like the relics of shipwreck, cast upon the beach by a storm; the pastures afford a meagre sustenance to a few starved and shabby-looking cattle; the fields that should be cultivated, nay the very garden, overgrown with weeds, and giving promise rather of famine than of harvest; the red-faced laborers listlessly lounging in the shade, or stretched on the sunny side of a wall, close by their bosom friend—the bottle—while from the neighboring styes, the one for biped, the other for quadruped *swine*, ascend the sympathetic wailings of human and beastly hunger. This is the *home* of the intemperate!

From such contrasts may we learn the political economy of intemperance.

But perhaps we cannot, in any way, so correctly estimate the loss which society suffers from the waste of intellect occasioned by that vice, as by asking ourselves what would have been the condition of the world, if Columbus,



or any other great genius, whose discoveries or inventions have changed the face of society, had been a drunkard?

Suppose that Columbus, instead of putting forth his intellectual power in the cause of science; instead of searching for an unknown path across an unexplored ocean; instead of striking out a new theory of geography, and devoting to its proof the whole of his mind and the whole of his life, had been content to drink the wines of his native Italy, to deluge his brain with the vintage of Europe, to sit at the convivial table, and waste his nights in drunkenness! Where would have been this western world? The savage, upon this very spot, would have even now pursued his game beneath the shadows of an unbroken forest; and where we are now employed in preparing these pages, in the midst of a rich and mighty city, surrounded by the abodes of civilization and the temples of God, the uncivilized Indian would have offered up sacrifice to some bloody deity, or meditated schemes of petty warfare around the council fires of his tribe!

Suppose that the great father of our independence, to whom, under Providence, we owe the liberty by which our land is blessed, instead of consecrating "a pure heart fervently" to the great cause of freedom; instead of concentrating his every intellectual energy upon the struggle of his country, and holding forth to universal reverence an unspotted example of virtue, had assimilated himself to the crowd by which he was, in Virginia, surrounded, and became like them a devotee of the bottle, the race-course, and the gaming-table; can you believe that this day's sun would have dawned upon a free and independent empire in the western continent? Could a drunkard's mind have guided us, as did Washington's, through the perils of the revolution? No; but had such been his character, the broad red cross of the banner of England would have still been the object of our political worship; the liberties which bless us, would have been trampled into dust; British tax-gatherers would now devour our substance, and the burden of our songs would still be, "God save the king!"

It is said with undoubted truth, that the inventions of Arkwright and Cartwright, by which the present improvement in spinning and weaving were brought into operation, have reduced the expense of clothing two thirds to every man, woman, and child, in Europe and America. Had those two

splendid geniuses been sots, to this day, every fireside in our country would have been decorated with a spinning-wheel, and every cottage would still have echoed to the music of the shuttle.

It has been declared by an eminent jurist, that the improvement effected by our countryman Whitney in the machinery for dressing cotton, has more than doubled the value of all the land in the southern States.

Thus may the single intellect of one sober man increase national wealth. Who, then, will pretend to fix any limit to the loss which our country annually suffers in consequence of intemperate habits?

But of what use are all the powers of both body and mind, except they be exercised for purposes of good?—except they be under the direction of correct and sober habits?

The *third great agent in the production of wealth*, therefore, is *the moral habits* of the community.

Amongst these habits may be mentioned industry, frugality, and integrity.\* Without industrious habits, no man nor set of men, can acquire wealth; with industry every person in such a country as ours, may grow rich. But besides industry, or the disposition and effort to earn, there must also be frugality, or the disposition and effort to save;—to economize expenditure, and accumulate capital. Without frugality the most industrious would live, as the common adage says, “from hand to mouth,” and be reduced by the adversity of a single day to poverty. But when these habits are united, we feel confident that their possessor will make ample provision for all emergencies, for sickness and every other calamity, for old age, for the support of dependents, and for the calls of charity.

But though a large proportion of the community possess these excellent habits, and may themselves grow rich thereby, yet if there exist another class, whose idleness, whose prodigality, or whose criminality multiply paupers, disturb the public peace by frequent outrages against the laws of both God and man, the growth of public wealth is greatly impeded, and rendered, in fact, wholly uncertain. The effect of intemperate habits upon industry, frugality, pauperism, and crime, is incalculably great and mischievous. Let us look

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\* That integrity which prevents all crime.

at the crimes by which our national character is disgraced, and our public treasury exhausted, and a careful inspection will show us, that not less than nine tenths of these, from murder down to petty-larceny, are occasioned by the use of strong drink. This estimate is enough to appal the stoutest heart. But it is made from unquestionable records and by men of unquestionable character.

We shall not be inclined to doubt it, after having considered with how much difficulty the coolest and most temperate person preserves a sound judgment and controlling conscience, under the provocations and temptations of common life; how besotted is the judgment of the intemperate, and how fiercely the evil passions are inflamed by strong drink. Even a man of the firmest principles is not to be trusted when under the influence of ardent spirit, although he may be far from being intoxicated.

Facts of the most painful character might be adduced in proof of this assertion, but the public are furnished with such by the papers of every month.\*

If, then, the man of wealth and property, and sound morals, is unable to keep his feet in the path of virtue, when they have slipped, though but a little, from the path of temperance, what must be his fate whose conscience is drenched with alcohol, whose passions have acquired a chronic inflammation, and who is openly, constantly, and unblushingly intemperate?

This habit inflames the appetites and lusts; and many a young man, whose education had made him virtuous, and who, in the hour of sound judgment, adhered most strictly to habits of virtue, has been seduced by the potent spell of the wine cup into sensual indulgences so vile and degrading as to destroy forever his self-respect, and thus become the opening scene to a protracted drama of criminality.

Intemperance is the stimulator of every dangerous passion,—so maddening in its operation that the strongest ties of duty, and affection, and interest, vanish before it like flax before the flame, and the slightest cause becomes the most

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\* A singular illustration may be found in the "*Documentary Exposition of Remarkable Crimes*," by Von Feuerbach, a distinguished German jurist, (the author of Caspar Hauser's life.) It is the case of "*George Wachs, or the Seduction of the Moment*," related in the second volume of the above work. Under the stimulus of a glass of beer the honesty of Wachs was so tempted by a silver watch, that he murdered a man and his wife and two children, in the most deliberate manner, in order to secure the bauble.

terrific in its effects. Near by us, a few weeks ago, a quarrel arose between two bosom friends, on the question of which had drank the most alcohol—and the dispute terminated in murder!\* In this instance the price of a dram to the commonwealth, was the loss of two of its citizens in the full vigor of manhood.

There can scarcely be found upon the face of creation a villain so utterly diabolic in his nature, as to commit a murder, or any other atrocious crime, in his cool and sober hours. There must be artificial stimulus; the intellect must be drowned, and the conscience smothered, and passion kindled into fury, before the hand can do the deed. A thorough villain may, in his temperate mood, devise the plan of operation, make ready the means, and regard, without apprehension, the distant certainty of crime. But when the hour arrives, and with it the necessity of action, the resolution fails and the dagger remains undrawn until he has drunk deeply and again. The dictates of conscience are like the servants who guarded Duncan in the chamber of Macbeth; they must be put to sleep, that then the murderer may, like lady Macbeth, exclaim,

“That which hath made them *drunk*, hath made me *bold*—  
What hath *quenched* them, hath given me fire!”

Le Blanc,† than whom a more thorough monster never lived, meditated many days upon the murder of Mr. Sayre and his family, and fixed the day when they must die. When that day came, where was he found, and how employed? In the bar-room of a dram-selling tavern, rousing his courage by ardent spirit. Glass after glass was furnished by the complaisant vender of “distilled damnation.”‡ The first draught may be said to have contained the murder of Mr. Sayre; the second was filled with the blood of his innocent wife; the third gave impulse to the club whose descending force dashed out the brains of the sleeping servant-maid.

The expense of the crimes which intemperance occasions cannot be easily computed; but that it is immense, no one conversant with the incidents of common life can doubt.

Let us now proceed, therefore, to inquire what is the influence of this vice upon the habits of industry and frugality.

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\* At Hingham.

† The New Jersey murderer.

‡ Robert Hall so calls brandy.



Industry and frugality are occasioned chiefly by our social affections, or by a rational regard for our own just wants. The miser hoards his money because he loves the base coin for its own sake, on the promptings of a most unnatural passion. But accumulation, in its common form, is the result of a wise foresight of our own future necessities, of a desire to gather around us an increase of the comforts of life, to elevate ourselves and families in the scale of society, and to prepare for the wants of those whom we love and are bound to support.

Intemperance destroys all these motives either to labor, or to save the earnings of our toil. It robs a man of his self-respect, and of his desire to rise in the world's esteem, making him at once conscious of, and contented with, his degradation, so that like the disgusting animal described in Scripture, he is willing again and again to return to his "wallowing in the mire."

It brutalizes his taste, and extinguishes within him all love for the conveniences and elegances of wealth. The momentary pleasure of the debasing draught, and the dead insensibility of complete intoxication, are enough to satisfy his every want. Why should he wish for more? So far, therefore, as he alone is concerned, there is nothing to induce him to assume the burden of severe labor, or the care of a rigid economy.

The case is even worse in respect to those social affections by which men are in general prompted to a faithful discharge of life's laborious duties. It is upon man, as a social being, that intemperance inflicts its severest curse.

The intemperate must abandon all the pleasures of a virtuous and peaceful fireside. If he be the husband of an innocent wife, he learns to hate her for her virtue and goodness; he hates her for the tears which she sheds over his fall from uprightness; he hates her for her gentle entreaties and expostulations, or for her just reproaches; and he manifests his hate by habitual absence from home, or by violence and abuse when he returns to the hearth made desolate by his criminality. Is he a father? He regards with cold and careless eye the little innocents upon whom he is preparing to cast a heritage of disgrace and woe; or he abhors them for their simple-hearted questions about his staggering gait, or alcoholic odor, or unkindness to their mother. As his habit becomes confirmed, and his heart

grows harder and harder, and his means of subsistence fail, he robs both wife and children of their sustenance, of their very clothing, in order to purchase indulgence for his beastly appetite; thus living, as it is just to say, on the blood of his offspring, and drinking the tears of that broken-hearted woman who is, perhaps, obliged to wander a common mourner, from door to door, to beg for bread!

Thus do we see the very fountain and source of industry, of frugality, of wealth, dried up and destroyed.

You may give a man the bodily powers of a giant, and the intellectual energies of a demi-god, but if his social and moral nature be debased by intemperance, the gift is utterly valueless. A community of such men, would, in a single generation, become a race of savages, as destitute of any thing deserving the name of national wealth, as of national respectability.

We will now dwell for a few moments on one other principle in the science of political economy, and then dismiss the subject.

Writers on political economy, speak of something which they call useless expenditure, or unprofitable consumption; which, though it be not very accurately defined, is universally described as so much absolute loss. Thus if I purchase a hundred dollars' worth of gunpowder, and explode it merely for my own amusement, this is useless expenditure and unprofitable consumption. In general terms, it may be said that whatever is consumed without the accomplishment of any useful purpose, without yielding any return, is in fact so much wasted and thrown away.

All have heard of the foolish profusion practised at the court of the Egyptian Cleopatra, when pearls of royal price were dissolved and drank in goblets of wine. Every person is ready to pronounce such an act a ridiculous waste of wealth. But how many have ever reflected that habits of intemperance occasion a waste of property, of strength, of intellect, of character, far more prodigal and far more hurtful to individuals, and to the whole fabric of society! Such is, however, the real fact!

We have shown that the use of ardent spirit as a drink is never productive of benefit. The money paid for it is, therefore, thrown away! We have shown that the use of it is not merely of no benefit, but an enormous injury, in an economical point of view, to body, mind, and heart. The

waste which it occasions, is, therefore, by no means circumscribed by the price of the drink.

If the intemperance of the United States was an injury to national wealth only to the extent of the money expended for alcoholic drinks, it would nevertheless amount to the prodigious sum of \$50,000,000 every year!

But in addition to this immense expenditure of gold and silver, let us estimate the waste of time; the diminished productiveness of land, of labor, and of capital; the loss of strength, of health, of intellect, of good habits; the cost of the paupers and of the crimes which intemperance occasions; the accidental losses attributable to the same cause; and the vast shortening of human life; and the whole sum of absolute waste rises above the startling amount of \$100,000,000 per annum; a sum more than seven times as large as that paid by the United States to France for the whole of that immense territory which stretches westward from the river Mississippi to the Pacific ocean.

And this enormous expenditure is every year incurred by a people who boast that their national trait is frugality! a people who pretend to be the most moral upon earth! a people who rebelled against their parent country and endured all the horrors of the revolution rather than pay a few thousand pounds in taxation! a people comparatively poor in monied capital, who depend almost wholly upon labor for subsistence, and who are surrounded by countless modes of employing their capital in profitable investments! Truly we are a prudent, a frugal, a moral, a consistent, a virtuous people.

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## ARTICLE II.

### THE TRUE PRINCIPLE OF SLAVERY, TOGETHER WITH THE PRESENT ATTITUDE AND RELATIONS OF THE SUBJECT TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY.

THAT public opinion has been advancing, for years past, towards the extinction of slavery, no sane and observant man can doubt. This crying iniquity has aroused the

thoughtful and conscientious of all parties, to a pungent feeling of their responsibility in relation to it, and to an earnest solicitude for its extermination. All serious and candid thinkers on the subject, are ready to maintain, that the brutal degradation, the wanton disfranchisement of manhood, and of the rights and duties of manhood, which have prevalence under the name of slavery within our territory, ought, if not immediately, yet ultimately and utterly, to be abolished. Nor have they been content with mere convictions, hopes or schemes. Their belief has not been speculative merely, but practical and in earnest, and they have put heart and hand to the work. They have striven for the extinction of slavery in the only practicable mode of accomplishing it,—by harrowing up that incrustation of guilty ignorance which had obscured and belittled its enormity to ordinary view, and making men's souls thrill and vibrate with quick and hearty yearnings towards the oppressed.

It may seem a work of supererogation then, to attempt a definition of slavery, or a demonstration of its wrongfulness. But it is to be remembered, that many, very many, even in the northern States, are not thoughtful and conscientious in this matter, who need and ought to be persuaded to become so. Besides, a wide and irreconcilable discrepancy prevails among those who entertain a common abhorrence of the crime of acquiring and holding slaves, as to the specific direction and form of our assaults on the monster. Disputes are prosecuted with zeal, and not seldom with fury, about the sinfulness and innocence of countless relations and attitudes of the master towards the slave, which no force of argument or eloquence can lay to rest. It is to be presumed, that these differences spring from a want of clear and full insight, not of the wrongfulness of slavery, but of the manner and grounds of the wrong. All men feel and know the wickedness of slavery, by an intuition above and antecedent to argument, which impels them to construct arguments and search for reasons against it. By those direct and immediate revelations of conscience to which no man can be a stranger, and which become known and felt as soon as the reflective powers are sufficiently mature to take cognizance of the circumstances to which they apply, and prior to all calculation of consequences, men must be made conscious of their duties, nor can they be blind to them without a wilful and guilty disposition to evade the light, because their



deeds are evil. In this way slavery meets the instantaneous and decided reprobation of every undegraded human spirit. Even those, who in theory make shipwreck of morality on the quicksands of expediency, and yet retain any practical idea of justice, are impelled by a sense of the wickedness of slavery in the form of a spontaneous abhorrence of it, which is opened up to them in the revelations of conscience, to strive to account for the detestation of it, by a superficial effort to imagine, that they have *calculated* its injurious tendencies on the wealth, happiness, or morals of society. As if these in their turn did not require to be estimated in the same balance, and so on *ad infinitum*. Or, as if they were willing to confess, that they could look with complacent satisfaction on thousands of their *innocent* fellow-beings subjected to the chain, the rack, the scourge, and the hammer, in short, encompassed with all the evils and sufferings of brutes and irresponsible things, because the wealth and prosperity of society would be thereby promoted! Here then, as in all things, we see how just practical principles may become perverted, and bereft of much of their soundness and benignant energy, by being compounded and confused with false theories in regard to them. If we pierce at all beyond the surface of a practical maxim, and attempt to account to ourselves for its *why and wherefore*, it is perilous not to see our way clearly, before making our "adventurous flights" into this *terra incognita*. Thus it is in religion, the prime source and feeder of all our duties. Few, comparatively, doubt their own sinfulness and need of salvation. But their speculations into its causes, grounds and modes, have greatly vitiated the native and genuine power of this belief, and more than half of Christendom has been verging towards infidelity, in running astray from the true God after their own sensual and gross superstitions, sometimes in the form of idolatry to the deified laws of nature, sometimes in the opposite form of a malignant awe of a worm of the dust, claiming their homage, in equal violation of the laws of nature and God. Ought such abominations then to disparage religion? No; the counterfeit is proof of the genuine coin. Ought they to discourage us from looking into the grounds and principles of our actions and rules of action? They should stimulate us to the work. They show that men do, and in the natural, healthful activity of their being, will, have questionings, and satisfying

answers in respect to how, what, and why they are. Nor can we meet or put to rest wrong surmises, or disenchant men of their flattering and soul-palsying delusions, by any other than the magic wand of truth. Would we save them from being stranded on the shoals of error, we must rectify their deviations by the pole-star of truth. We must neutralize false reasonings by true ones.

The origin of the diversity of opinions concerning our obligations to the slaves, and concerning what constitutes an adequate fulfilment of them, is traceable to vague and misconceived notions of its real definition and essence. Hence the duties growing out of the long tolerated continuance of the sin, set themselves before us in shapes and phases distorted through the medium of a wrong apprehension of the enormity to which they relate. While radically it is the same principle of doing justice and loving mercy, that gives birth to every form of interest and labor for the emancipation and amelioration of the slave, yet, two organizations have been formed for these ends, some of whose members are accustomed to style their opponents jacobins, on the one side, and to be styled oppressors, or conspirators with oppressors on the other. The one class are against all parleying and treating slavery as a sort of established and stationary sin, to endure till circumstances shall make it convenient to get rid of it. They are for denouncing it outright, with a condemnation not qualified or softened by any expressions of sympathy with the slave-holder, because habit has hardened and emboldened him in crime, and now that his property is involved in it, he is loth to attack his own interest. Thus refusing all compromise; they demand immediate and absolute emancipation, and condemn all slower and more cautious methods as incommensurate with the fearfulness of the sin, and of course unlikely to eradicate it. The latter and larger class maintain, that violent remedies will only aggravate the disease, and, that the convulsions attendant on exorcising one demon, will be like restoring seven. They think that action demonstrates a more efficient hatred than words; and that if we keep busy in lopping off some of the blossoming evils of slavery, without laying the axe directly at its root, this sphere of activity will be a safe and inoffensive arena for directing and exposing the entire matter to the inspection of the country, and that "slavery cannot survive discussion." It is fit that we observe here, how adverse to jacobinism and

oppression are the *practical feelings and principles* of both parties, however their speculative arguments may bolster up either. Through the length and breadth of the land, the self-willed and insubordinate, the lawless in power and out of power, usurpers and jacobins, anarchists, disorganizers and despotic aspirants will be found to abet, or to be indifferent concerning slavery. But the champions of the rights of outraged and insulted humanity, are chiefly confined to the conscientious and sturdy supporters of the well regulated restraints of government on the untamed impetuosity and turbulence of the multitude.

*Vox populi vox Dei*, though an oft perverted, is not a false adage. Where no selfish bias disturbs or diverts the feelings of men from their wonted and spontaneous action, the universal sentiment of the human race is proof paramount to all inquiry and logical demonstration. A unanimous voice of indignation against slavery from all human kind, shows its hideous wickedness to be established by evidence immediate and intuitive, and therefore superior to all derived arguments. Do we then say that the multitude never misjudge when their decisions are conscientious and sincere? Are we ready to endorse the edicts and manifestos of hot-headed mobs, because they were made in earnest? Such questions have been perplexing and harassing to many minds; and a few words in elucidation of them may be worth while on their own account, as showing how duties in general are discovered, determined and rightly authenticated, and as being important to our subject. For the abhorrence of slavery which is inborn with us, is often set aside by its abettors as an ignorant and fanatical prejudice. Let us first determine, then, how far and within what limits the clearly and audibly announced sense of the human race is ultimate authority in regard to duties. Next, we will test slavery by this standard, and, in doing it, we will endeavor to extract from its varied combinations and modifications, and to set forth nakedly to our inspection *the precise element which constitutes slavery in distinction from dutiful and hearty subordination*, and always excites our abhorrence of it.

Assuredly it is not, absolutely and in every aspect, true, that a doctrine is trustworthy in proportion to its prevalence in the world. This is not our meaning. The grand and unconquerable obstacle to the diffusion and dominion of truth, has ever been, that men would assail it sincerely and

honestly. If men singly can be led astray, error becomes contagious to men in masses. If those who are sufficiently enlightened and energetic to be leaders, often make honest warfare against the truth, much more will the short and dim-sighted rush blindfold into the tangles and snares, the mazes and pitfalls elaborately devised against them by the powers of darkness. They become, as it were, neutral factors in the production of error for each other. The blind lead the blind, and those of deeper penetration, who employ their superior energy and compass of vision only to see further in the wrong direction, league their bad eminence with the natural proneness of their subordinates to error. The father of lies not only injects his poisonous fangs into his unwary victims, but coils them together with unyielding gripe and desperate combination under his gigantic folds, thus gaining an increase of power which is as that of a chain considered as a whole, beyond that of its mere links regarded separately.

But if it be the part of error to gain with geometrical rapidity, truth is also living and self-productive. Like "light its material symbol," it not only expels but annihilates darkness. The very effort to eradicate error or work conviction, presupposes an assurance, that the deluded are yet competent in some way rightly to discriminate and judge. Were it otherwise, were there not a somewhat to be appealed to, all steps towards human amelioration, would be like the tantalizing struggles of a brute on a tread-mill. No honest and generous spirit has ever felt itself possessed of a truth, without acting on the presumption, that when adequately understood, it would be gladly received by all ingenuous and unperverted minds, or not so properly *received*, as uncovered within themselves, and laid bare to the light, as that of which they can no more be bereft than of their very selves. (Hide it, flee from its presence and authority, the wicked may; destroy it, or fail to recognize it as their rightful ruler, they cannot; if honest, they would not.) Nay, all teachers and philanthropists have a well grounded and inspiring faith, that their labors will not be in vain with the wily and malicious; that, if truth can be fully and clearly arrayed before them, they will be either enchanted by the heavenly vision, or dismayed by its terrible brightness!

We must then conclude, that all men can, and in the spontaneous, unwarped exercise of their intellective faculties, do,



know the truth. Duty is otherwise inconceivable and impossible, and Pilate might well put the taunting question, What is truth? Obligation can receive no definition, which does not comprise within itself an act of knowledge. Honestly to contend against truth! The very words are a solecism. They do violence to our most assured and homebred intuitive convictions. Yet the question recurs, Are not men honestly in error? Yes. But will not moral integrity guide men into the truth, or rather is it not itself truth in its highest form, realized in act and being? We must still answer, Yes.

The seeming paradox and contradiction attending a naked statement of these principles will vanish, if we transfer our analogy between spiritual and material sight to the organs for receiving and transmitting the same. All men have the power of vision.\* They have an intuition and an indubitable intuition of outward objects—such that no two disagree as to the visual qualities of any object laid before them. But then some are near-sighted through defect in the construction or arrangement of the various lenses, that set the object or the rays flowing from it, in a fit attitude for the *seeing* eye. They need spectacles of various adaptations for the rectification of these inequalities. Even where these are not requisite, the practised eye far outruns the untutored vision in discerning fitness of proportion, delicacy of shade, and harmony in the whole. Not only so, but the situation of the object must be rightly adjusted to the eye. Who would admire the Venus De Medici, or the Apollo Belvidere, when too far distant to be clearly seen? Or what soul would recognize in them the bodying forth of an ideal beauty, in visible expression, if displayed in the uncouth and hideous disguises given to them in a concave mirror? Who would be called blind or untasteful for being unable to discern their glories in twilight?

In like manner, the mind's eye sees clearly and decides surely on whatever is laid before it, though it oftentimes needs the spectacles of information and experience to place the object in a right attitude before it. Who would be pronounced stupid for not knowing whether a monarchy is of benign or ruinous tendency, without knowing what a monarchy is? Or knowing this generally, yet being ignorant of its

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\* Coleridge's *Friend*, Am. Ed. page 135.

ramified channels of influence, how could such an one properly judge of its merits or demerits? Yet when familiar with all its diversities of operation, who could hesitate to pronounce upon its worthiness and title to support? Could it be doubted that whatever government excites all our nobler impulses and activities, holds sacred the relations of justice, and supplies the largest measure of liberty and inducements to all, to elevate and ennoble themselves, without license to interrupt others in the same pursuits, ought to be upheld and advanced? On the other hand, would not that government and those rulers, that left our fortunes and persons at the merciless caprice of unfeeling wretches, that repressed all worthy and manly aspirations and aims, and treated its subjects as mere ministers of its own avarice, sensuality, and rage, deserve unqualified execration and total subversion? Can, or does any undegraded man doubt here? But to determine what governments and constitutions have this influence, is a problem of less easy solution. This demands statesmanship, experience, practical wisdom. Here most men are near-sighted. They need the telescope of education and experience.

How then shall we define the true sphere, within which all men's judgments are alike infallible, and no one can be guide to another, from that in which all are fallible in degrees varying with their intellectual endowments, discipline, culture, and experience? From that which affords scope for, and gives significance to, the epithets wise or unwise, prudent or rash, narrow or comprehensive? Plainly the conscience, with its associated objects and organs, must be assigned to the former. This is our inward and spiritual vision. The true perception of right and wrong, and of the objects qualified by them, without which these words are mere pulsations of air, is the primary constituent, the fundamental condition of all accountability. In proportion as it is dimmed or blunted by the wickedness of men, are they plunged into misery and ruin. "Where no vision is, the people perish." Yet where this vision is quickest and strongest, there yet remain objects to be seen, and powers of putting them in a fit position for the seeing agent. These constitute what is ordinarily meant by the intellect of man, considered as an inquiring, discovering, deducing faculty. The conscience is imperative and immediate in its decisions, when the actual relation of things is seen. By its own

light, it intuitively affirms certain things to be right or wrong. Yes, the intellect of one man may see certain actions to involve the thing against which conscience has issued its veto, while another may see otherwise. Thus no conscience doubts, that the intention to convey an import counter to known truth, to another, is wrong and indefeasible. Yet, how often has the subtlety of casuists been tasked on the question, Is a lie ever justifiable? The perplexity lies in the want of intellectual discrimination between what does, and what does not, constitute a lie : some seeing in a contradiction as to words, a necessary lie as to the things ; others believing, that, if the impression of irony were intentionally conveyed from speaker to hearer, any other language than the contrary of truth would have amounted to intended and sinful falsehood. It does not consist in any doubt as to the intrinsic wickedness of a lie. An illustration here occurs to us, which was furnished by an infidel sophist in elucidation of our meaning, while we were combatting his argument for the fallibility of conscience, whence he was about to step, by an easy transition, to its non-existence. Said he, "You mean to say, that if a servant brings me a note, purporting to be an injunction of some service upon me by my father, my conscience indubitably determines, that, if it be genuine, I ought to obey it. But it may be forged, and whether it be so or not, I am to determine by all the light at my command, but I may after all decide hesitatingly. The uncertainty here, very clearly, is not chargeable on my conscience, but my intellect." A truer and clearer exemplification of the thing could not be imagined. While then the conscience is immediate and imperative in its commands, and infallible in its judgments, the understanding may waver and misjudge of the circumstances, which contain the thing on which judgment has been passed.

Now to weigh slavery in this balance, What are the spontaneous, unbiassed sentiments of men in regard to it?

The possession of control over another does not in itself awake our abhorrence or reprobation. Were it so, all superintendence among men, individual and public, would be done away. To buy a slave for the purpose of liberating him, or of exercising a control required by his truest well-being, is not slave-dealing. To treat slaves affectionately, and lead them to the discharge of all their duties to God and man, is not to act on the principle, or incur the guilt of slavery.

And all have felt, that such analogies were incommensurate with the subject, and a frail prop for the maintenance of slavery.

THE ESSENCE OF SLAVERY, IS A DISREGARD OF THE SACRED AND ETERNAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN PERSON AND THING. All men know, and feel, and act upon this distinction, though few are able, or ever attempt to define and state it to themselves. They know it to be their duty to regard it, and they instantly judge it a heinous crime, in king or master, to neglect it, either in reference to subject or servant. We acknowledge our obligations to the greatest thinker of the age, for the substance of what follows in the way of defining the difference of person from thing, in which there is nothing striking, except that it is so simple and just, that we wonder we never had come to it before. The distinction is briefly this ; *A thing may be made a means to an end entirely and of itself. A person cannot be made a means to an end of which itself is not a part.* My beast I employ simply as a minister to my own pleasure or interest, all the attentions and expense which I bestow upon it, being intended to fit it more perfectly for this end. But I employ a drudge with a barrow, instead of a horse with a cart, and pay him a consideration beyond the mere meat and drink, requisite to give him the bodily strength demanded by his task. Persons alone are subjects of morality ; and as morality through its organ the conscience, constitutes the ends of our conduct, and subordinates all things else, as parts or means to itself, so persons, in whom alone morality becomes realized and actual, and who alone have the idea of right, or of having a right, alone can constitute themselves ends, and alone have the right or power of appropriating, or acquiring ownership in any substance ; which phrase means the power and right of subordinating it to their own interests and ends. Now the main ingredient of despotism in government, and of slavery in individuals, is, that persons are degraded to the rank of mere things, catering for the gratification and interests of others. It is not the circumstance of possessing or exercising rule over them—this may be a duty—but of treating them as impersonal agents, whom we are bound to regard no more scrupulously, than we should a horse or a waterfall. We ask, whether this be not the element, that constitutes subordination slavery, and starts that



detestation which all generous souls feel, and ought to feel, against the oppressor.

Now we wish to be explicitly understood, as saying, that, not against the restriction of liberty, or the exaction of labor from any class of men, does sentence of condemnation come from the universal and intuitive convictions of the human race, but against the stifling and extinction of personality, and with it of humanity. The much bandied epithet, "man-stealing," does not necessarily belong to the bare assumption and exercise of guardianship and direction of another's labor; but it does justly characterize this trampling down, this extracting, this pilfering of manhood, which levels men to the rank of brutes and market-ware. What monster hesitates to condemn, without extenuation, such servitude and its authors, whether in the form of beginning, or of settled continuance, of forcing into, or retaining in bondage, of first inhumanly robbing of whatever is sacred and endearing, or of perpetuating the theft? Who does not know, that slavery, when it denotes a state not implied by other terms, indicates an ownership in what is not transferable, a degradation to a marketable commodity, of what cannot have an exchangeable value, of beings personal, spiritual, responsible, to things profitable, convenient, irresponsible. All feel it to be an estimating by the weights, measures, and coin of commerce in impersonal things, of the worth of that, which dare not acknowledge any valuation or measurement of itself, or acknowledge any equivalent not in its own coin. For moral worth with its correspondent obligations, and worldly commodities, are mutually incommensurable. The former is to the latter as time to space; no conceivable amount of the former can equal an infinitesimal extent of the latter. The reason is, that the difference respects kind, not degree. No price can pay for the forfeiture or surrendry of the soul, its duties and rights, they are not marketable; no! though the whole world should be given in exchange for them!

It is unnecessary to go further in showing that mankind (not all calling themselves men) believe, or that their belief is well founded, that slavery, as distinguished from subordination and dutiful subjection, is wrong, morally and religiously, and, therefore to all intents, wrong. In the light of the principle which carried us to this conclusion, we may discover the true and false in many disputes, now pushed with ardor, either directly upon slavery, or in close neighborhood to it.

The question is often put, "cannot one voluntarily consent to, and thus authorize, his own bondage?" That he can sell his own services, and put them at the option of another, and that he most often ought so to do, is undoubted. But that he can alienate the right or the duty of being a party to the bargain, (the condition of slavery,) and of seeing that it subserve no sinister end, is equally untrue. In so far as his birthright of liberty gives to him in trust, certain duties to be maintained and discharged, he cannot release himself from the obligation, or alienate from himself the right to oversee and fulfil them. What father can disengage himself from his duties to his offspring? Would consent or willingness on the part of father or child, justify or even legalize the fiendish project? Does the promise to lie or cheat, authorize such iniquity, or render it obligatory? Would a compact of an idiot or child, for perpetual enslavement, be righteous or binding? Can consent in any case legalize iniquity, or does the absence of it make void or lessen any obligation? Can our duty to be slaves, or to burst our fetters, be affected by consent or *will*? Intrinsically, it plainly cannot. Undoubted and even self-evident as it is, that our duties and correspondent rights exist, incapable of being shifted by individual will or consent, perhaps no error more widely or injuriously prevails in this country, than the opposite doctrine. In strict consistency with their principles, therefore, this people and especially the slave-holding portion of it, whose disorganizing doctrines rest on this error for their foundation, cannot evade the conclusions of certain reasoners upon slavery, who demand the immediate and absolute rupture of all ties and relations, not originating in the consent of the parties. This doctrine needs to be examined and tested.

That the father ought to subdue the will, and check the waywardness of any son, who is not a moral wonder, cannot be questioned. But that the child has a right to his protection and affectionate and faithful guardianship, is likewise true. If the master ought to govern his apprentice, he ought also to indoctrinate him into the mysteries, and familiarize him with the handiwork of his craft. If the husband have property in his wife, how is it vice versâ? In all these cases, the *person* subjected does not thereby become a *thing*, and the obligations exist independently of consent or refusal; a circumstance worth the remembrance of some who have instanced these examples in analogy to, or elucida-

tion of, slavery. So the duty of loyalty has no relation whatever to the voluntary acquiescence of the subject in the form of government. A republican in England or France, owes allegiance to the king, and this, whether he recognizes the sound and rightful derivation of his authority or not. What sane man would maintain, that the withholding of consent, on the part of any citizen, would annul the jurisdiction of the government over him? Is it said that the settling within her domain is an implied acquiescence in her authority? But suppose him expressly to avow disaffection, and refuse consent, would his obligation to obedience cease, and would the restraint laid by government on his lawlessness become usurpation? Speculate, declaim, and hold Bacchanalian revels as we will, about the people being the fountain of all power, government originating in a compact stipulating conformity to its mandates; we challenge, as a matter of fact, any one to conceive of the possibility of isolating a man from duties and obligations, arising from relations having no foundation in consent, without isolating him from all neighborhood to his fellow-men. No man can seat himself in the midst of his fellow-men, without needing, and being entitled to, the protection of government against the lawless aggressions of his neighbors. The obligations of the government and its subjects are reciprocal, and immutably above the transient gusts and eddyings of inclination in either.

In what, then, is government, and the duty of obeying it, founded? Its primeval origin has been assumed to be a compact, in order to give color and consistency to the idea of basing it on consent. But, besides that history is an unvaried contradiction of this assumption, what obligation can a contract impose, which had no prior existence? My agreement to pay a sum due from me, does not enhance the obligation to do so; it only transfers it from the scale of obligations, technically styled imperfect, i. e. incapable of being enforced, to that of perfect, i. e. enforceable obligations. The reality of the obligation is in both cases identical. But if on the strength of malicious misrepresentations, I promise to pay the sum, I am not morally and actually, though I may be legally, bound to do it. The laws construe the promise into a presumption of a true obligation, because it is the common character, under which, alone, obligations can be cognizable or enforceable before her tribunals, unless

they degenerate into instruments of capricious tyranny. The imperfect, and only real obligation is, that the person empowered by a legal fiction to extort the money, should waive the exercise of his power. Again, if I agree to pay a sum which I know I ought not to pay, the promise does not exculpate the wrong, but constitutes it, for in the eye of the law, the transfer is to all just intents, made. Can it seriously be claimed, that I ought to lie, cheat, steal, or in any way violate my duty, because I promise to do so? If not, neither ought I to uphold and aid in perpetuating a government, which scoffs at the wants, and is indifferent concerning the weal of its subjects, and the social compact is a figment of speculators, at war with fact, and the fitness of things. The query has been very appositely put, *what obliged them to form the compact?*

In other words, on what is the obligation to loyalty founded? The point of the inquiry is, to ascertain the source of the rights of government, and its subjects, that, in the light of this standard, we truly measure our duties. The true foundation of government is the social instinct, interpreted and regulated by reason and conscience. It is a part of our humanity, to live in mutual dependence on each other, for the supply of our comforts and necessities. It is an instinct, which of itself, aside from its subservience to other ends, ministers largely to our happiness, while its exercise and gratification are indispensable to the realization of that condition, for which man is fitted. It is necessary to the perfection of manhood, and, with few exceptions, such, however as presuppose the rule, to the propagation and continuance of our race. The disposition to unite in families, neighborhoods and communities, by peculiar ties, does not spring primarily from a consideration of their expediency. The prior impulse and disposition render it expedient. These are a part of the spontaneous activity of our being, antecedent to reflection, though afterwards, doubtless, sanctioned and regulated by it. Its naturalness is sufficient proof of its necessity. Like the instinct to acquire knowledge, or enlarge our power, or to strive for our own existence and preservation, it impels us to select and adapt the fit means for accomplishing the end; and while conscience commands us to pursue it, it also, aided by the eye of the judgment, discerns what means we ought to adopt, and how far any given order of means are "sanctified by the end."



Now the social instinct, like all the beneficent springs of action in man, finds obstacles to its own realization, which it impels us to counteract, while it leads to the creation of those positive institutions, which tend to cherish it, and to perfect its benignant influences. The selfish rapacity of man constitutes a barrier to the action of the social principle, which nothing but the strong arm of the law can vanquish. In the imaginary unsocial state of our jacobin theorists, (for whose actual existence they must date back to chaos,) mutual violence and rapine, must force men into a hostile seclusion and desolate estrangement from each other. On the other hand, concentrated action, which presupposes a head, and contains the germ of government, is necessary for the accomplishment of ends, which individuals, in their separate and broken efforts, could never push to their fulfilment. All great public enterprises for facilitating public intercourse, opening the hidden and dormant resources of a people, all ample endowments and institutions for the intellectual, moral and religious culture of man, would be unheard of, in the absence of government. In the development of man's being, therefore, the entrance into the political state is as natural and necessary, as the providing of food, or the formation of language. And it is the free and unbidden dictate of conscience, to merge all individual will in the predominance of LAW, as the organ of right and justice, as the utterance of a voice, which "fit audience finds" in "natures prefigured to its influence." "Of law there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world. All things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, the greatest as not exempted from her power; both angels and men, and creatures of what sort and condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet, all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy."

The authority of all government is bottomed on this duty of subordination to a law, beyond and above the capricious impulses of personal will; a duty of submission to the higher powers, first in the parental, always in the political form, a conviction of which, every human being carries with him, and dare not question. These powers are ordained of God. The duty of obedience to the authorities, under which God's providence has placed us, is not to be put aside or gainsaid, by questionings about its rightful origin, derivation or descent.

The true question is, are they the organs, depositories, administrators of the LAW, or of despotism and personal caprice? If the former, they are ordained of God. If the latter, they are the powers of darkness, and are to be combatted as such, that place may be given to the ministers of law. Thus Paul rebukes the seditious clamorers against the Roman government, who urged, that sway had been gained by usurpation. The real question at issue between our forefathers and king George, was not, whence did he derive his right to rule over them, but whether he should longer be suffered to tyrannize over them with *misrule*, to outrage law, and stifle justice. Hence the old watchword of loyalty, "the king can do no wrong," was not without a hearty and high-souled sense of its propriety on the lips of the English patriots, before it became poisoned in the mouth of jacobinical detraction. For the king was the impersonated and embodied law of the realm, which, so far from doing wrong, leaves no room for wrong, except in its own violation. As such, was the *king*, not the man, revered, but when he merged the king in the tyrant, and from being the guardian and organ of the law, came to defy all law, he lost the wonted veneration and support of his subjects. With perfect consistency an Englishman might in the same breath, exclaim, down with Charles, God save the king, the king can do no wrong, Charles is a tyrant.

Hence it follows, that the form of government has little to do with unalienable rights; the question being not what form of government is consistent with our original rights, but, what constitution is best calculated to secure and beneficially regulate their exercise, and promote the great ends of civil society? While the ends of civil society, and the obligation to become incorporated with it, originate in the conscience, prior to calculation, nevertheless *expediency, or wise adaptation of means*, is necessary for the effectual realization of this end. Conscience is the pole-star, and expediency the compass for navigating the ship of state. The gradation from the paternal to the patriarchal, and thence to the monarchical, along with the progress of our race, was natural and easy. But as society became more extended and complex, "the balance of powers" became necessary. It is the highest problem of practical statesmanship, to determine this balance, and adjust its fluctuations. In modern civilized states, it has vacillated from the tyranny of the autocrat, to the tyranny

of the mob ; from the despotism of one, to the despotism of the many. But the wisest governments have found it expedient, to give all great and substantial interests a permanent participation of, at least, negative power, such, that the *consent* of each portion is requisite to its exercise. Under our own government, the consent of a numerical majority of male subjects beyond the age of twenty-one years, is necessary to the passage of any law. But would the same law be less binding, if enacted by a smaller number, constituting the government ?

We see then, why consent, being constituted the channel or medium of exercising political power, has in many minds been covertly associated with the idea of its origin. Moreover, consent implies personality, the true ground and gauge of all just authority. It indicates that the welfare of the persons consenting must share *as an end* in the regards of government ; and that they themselves can so far constitute an end, and a final end, as to be the reason, and the final reason, why a measure should, or should not be adopted. The duty of all states is, so to construct themselves, and shape their laws, that the true interests of their subjects shall be protected and promoted, and that no human being shall be dwarfed into a mere dead instrument of their own ends. This is, clearly, the sum total of their duty. The case of criminal punishment is no exception. For the malefactor has disclaimed his moral and personal nature, in trampling down all those restraints in the recognition of which, it consists. So far as we have to do with him, his personal being and rights are past and extinct, and he is to be treated as a dead nuisance. Nor does the case of compelling soldiers to risk their life, for the maintenance of government, cross our view of the subject. For government must always presume its own interest and welfare, to comprise the true interest and welfare of its subjects ; as the central life of the body, is indispensable to the vitality of the particular members. Any other conception of the thing is manifestly absurd and chimerical. Our modern enlighteners might here well take some lessons of ancient wisdom. A Roman orator once won back a seditious mob to their allegiance, by telling them, that their rebellion against the impositions of government, was like a conspiracy of the inferior members of the body against the stomach ; an attempt to dry up the fountain of life to themselves.

Now government institutes, and our natural instincts prompt us to conform to, those relations, which tend to promote and secure the personal interests of its individual subjects in the highest degree. Our government has, at times, deemed itself best supported, and its ends best fulfilled, by confining all agency in the choice of its officers, to persons whose amount of property afforded presumption of an earnest interest in its enactments, and of those citizen-like habits and pursuits, which always attend its acquisition and possession, while its absence, in this country, implied a want of ordinary sagacity and steadiness of character. Even now, some fixed property or military service is required duly to qualify a voter. The English constitution recognizing wealth and hereditary honors as tokens of enlargement of mind, general nobility of character, and superior competency to govern, has appointed its aristocracy, to some extent, the guardians of their poor and ignorant dependents. But in every imposition of restraint, the legislature degenerates into an assembly of despots, if its distinct aim be not to guard their true interests and procure for them the most beneficial freedom.

This system of superintendence and guardianship, whether recognized and apparent or not in the political constitution of society, will inevitably belong to its essence and become its breath and life. For all vivacity, nay, vitality implies progress, transition, change; and without the difference of gradations, and other forms of variety which all society actually embodies, the order of nature would be reversed, and the feeling of adaptation and the mutual fitness of those opposites would die away, which, when their very differences are interfused and organized into one by an all-pervading, living unity, make, *and make possible*, the harmony of things. The spirit and soul of society would languish in the absence of those antagonist relations, which stir and sustain their activity. Draw out this vital sap from within, and the genial blossomings, and luxuriant foliage, and golden fruitage—"the unbought grace of social life," would be withered under an all-blighting monotony.

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"Thrum,  
On one dull chord, with one dull, heavy thumb,  
Now thrill the fibres of thy soul."

"There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth



from another in glory." So spake God's inspired herald, and though he stated the fact in illustration of another theme, he nevertheless stated a fact. But the ethereal arch which canopies us over, and which being the limit between the visible finite, and the invisible infinite, is at once a symbol of time and eternity, does but ray forth, in the very substance and forms of light, that glad subordination and spontaneous harmony, with which all orders of being freely revolve in their appointed spheres, each lesser drawing strength and glory from the greater to which it is concentric, and "all swelling and pressing under one common attraction." And are the last and highest, the spiritual among God's creatures, to be bereft of this beauty and glory? They neither will, nor can be. In every community there will be, if not a legal, yet an actual head, a nucleus gathering and fastening to itself all the elements of worth in its vicinity. Such persons will be centres and impulses, unconsciously giving direction to all, carrying them on in equable conjunction, in heedless, yet harmonious revolution with themselves. Nor can such relations, while they actually exist, fail to be recognized, and *consciously* felt, without seriously stupefying the moral sense of the people. Mutual dependence, honor to whom honor is due, reverence to superiors, courtesy and generosity to inferiors, these are at the same time instincts and duties, "the crutch that at once sustains and proves the infirmity of man." They cannot be utterly obliterated from practice, nor safely disregarded in theory, while he remains man. The inculcation of opposite views, is poisoning the country with the envy and hate of the poor on the one side, and the pettier insolence of the rich on the other. Hence the systematic detraction of whatever is lovely and of good report, the waspish blasphemy, the rampant infidelity, which are infecting some portions of the country. Instead of impregnating the heart of the people with affectionate admiration and reverence of public wisdom, integrity, and disinterestedness, there are panders to the dirty passions, infuriating the crowd with a mad and ignorant contempt of such endowments, and of the men possessing them. To eradicate such feelings, should be a primary aim of all governments; and he is but a sorry statesman, who hopes to promote order among the people, or stability in the government, by engendering mutual jealousy and alienation, goaded on by a tumultuous pride and self-importance among its subjects.

We must here observe, however, a difference in the gradations proper to responsible, and those proper to irresponsible or impersonal beings. It is this. Personal beings have the power of varying their inward and actual worth and dignity of character, which change is usually accompanied by indubitable outward proofs. Their outward opportunities and privileges ought, therefore, to be correspondently enlarged. All governments professing to be free, make account of this, by opening the way to emoluments and honors, to such as have fulfilled certain conditions. These conditions may not always mete out equal and exact justice, but become requisite in order to bring the change within the sphere of perfect obligations, and to render it cognizable by law. But they open up to man the region of hope, the necessary inspiritor and guide of all lofty aims, and of all man-worthy advancement. *Nor ought any structure of government to be suffered to maintain existence, which does not strive to hold forth rational prospects of amelioration to its subjects, or utterly cuts off from hope, any class of men who have not forfeited their personality by crime.*

Let it be remembered, then, that the claims of the slaves to our sympathy and alliance, their right to a redemption from outrage and debasement, have no such capricious and doubtful foundation, as the contingency of their having withholden all consent from the tenure by which they are now held. The chronological facts connected with their transition into their present state, of themselves, neither create nor annul any duty. The slaves are what they are. If by our agency they became so, we ought to repent of our wickedness. But by whomsoever, or whatsoever, they were plunged into their present brutish defilement, our obligation is the same, to do our utmost for their emancipation from it. To sever and divide political abstractions, to do valorous battle with a rival, about rights unalienable and rights delegated, may be accumulating fame to ourselves, but it is of no service to the slave. If the preceding views have any foundation, they must disperse much of the metaphysical fog in the shape of logical quibbles, with which this subject has been obscured, and establish the following propositions.

1. All men being persons, as such have a right\* to be

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\* The right here spoken of must, of course, be understood to be imperfect; though in proportion to the perfection of human politics, it becomes absolutely perfect.

treated, and, without great wrong, cannot be regarded or disposed of otherwise. No man can be appropriated, as a mere means of advancing another's interest, unless his own be included. 2. No human being can have property in another, in the import given to that phrase in worldly commerce. 3. No man can claim exemption from his duties, on the ground of having withheld his consent, since they are in no manner constituted by it. 4. The relation of master and slave, where the slave is debased to a level with brutes and market-ware, cannot be justified, and ought not to be tolerated, even with the consent of the latter, although it may be true, and, doubtless, is extensively true, that the master can promote the true well being of the slave, by retaining his control over him, and, therefore, ought so to do. 5. The sale of the slave, for the purpose of bettering his condition, is not a sin: it may be a duty, under the odious incumbrances of some of our southern laws. 6. Masters are bound to give their slaves facilities and inducements to moral and religious instruction; to keep inviolate the marriage tie; not to invade the sacredness of family and domestic relations, the household privacy, that centre of all the circles of affection in which our humanities are cultured, and by which our frailty is upheld, purified, and ennobled. They ought to afford to their several married slaves separate lodgments, with all the implements and excitements of family neatness and thrift. 7. They are bound not to inflict stripes or other corporeal pains, except for crimes; but to awaken and encourage industry and enterprise, by meting out just and sufficient rewards to their labor, and by making them assured of receiving a compensation proportionate to their deserts. The proper punishment of mere negligence or inactivity, is a proportionate curtailment of privileges and means of subsistence. 8. They ought to affix to the fulfilment of certain wise and specified conditions, made as a sufficient surety of their fitness for the boon, freedom in form as well as in fact: just as the age of twenty-one is taken as a proof of fitness for release from parental authority. 9. Those in human legislatures, which forbid the amelioration of the slave, and compel the master to imbrute him, are but the collective despotisms of slave-holders, and should not be suffered to continue the practice of their dire abominations. If they do not repent of, and undo them, in this day and land of light and liberty, they ought to expect speedy and terrible judgments from God!

The inference as to the duties of this people towards the slaves, is clear. We have not power to unbind the chains of the oppressed by immediate interference, but we are deeply responsible for the part we can, and ought to bear, in snapping them asunder. We are of one blood with the holders of slaves, bound to them by ties, national, social, fraternal. The tone and temper manifested by us, in regard to this great national sin, will be looked upon by our southern brethren, as likely to err rather on the side of austerity and sternness, than on the side of laxity.\* Let us then dismiss all temporizing and shifting expedients, and manfully face the real enemy. Let the people be taught to have faith in the truth, and arm themselves with its spirit and its all-sufficing energy. Infidelity to truth, or the spirit of truth, puts us afloat in the trackless and unfathomed abyss of aimless policy and unsatisfying calculation. Let us not in any wise disguise or extenuate the inhumanity, the reckless debasement and pollution of body and soul, the unholy barter of what is above price, which, though not necessarily belonging to all possible relations of master and servant, give color and substance to the crime of slavery. Let those fiendish combinations which are conspiring to strengthen, perpetuate and systematize this iniquity, by cramping individual benevolence under the strong arm of legislative tyranny, be exposed to the scorn and detestation of the human race. Let the traffickers in human blood, and the abettors of the traffic, be manacled in the noisome cavities wherein they thrust their fellows, and pent up from all communion with men; for their very touch and breath are pollution. Let those howling wolves, that break into the sacred fold of family ties, those fiery scorpions, that extort toil with the sting of the lash, be visited with that infamy and generous execration, to which their bestial cruelty and hardihood entitle them. Let not such wickedness be apologized for, or connived at, but let us on all proper and expedient occasions, vent our indignation against it, and let us not hesitate to contend for its immediate, absolute overthrow.

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\* The revilings and contemptuous denunciation of northern character, of which southern papers and politicians are so prolific, do not express the genuine feelings of the people. In conversation with an intelligent South Carolinian, who was ultra in his adherence to southern feelings and principles, and to slavery among the rest, we were struck with a remark of this purport, "We know that you New Englanders always have reasons for what you do, and, sometimes, provokingly good ones too!"



Such an emancipation, however, does not imply, that the slaves ought to be loosed from all supervision and restraint. It would be inhuman to expose them to the luckless and fluctuating chances, which their thriftlessness and incompetency to manage, arising from their long degradation, must induce. It would be like casting off children to look for themselves. Their masters ought to prepare them for freedom, before they bestow it, or to make suitable provision for such preparation. It is the duty of each individual master, and of the slave-state legislatures, to open the door of HOPE, the prospect of privileges, emolument and honor, proportioned to thrift and true worth. The absence of such stimulants is enough to debase and wither the character of any people, bond or free, for without them human nature droops in despair and inactivity, and its generous impulses stagnate. Masters ought not, therefore, to be told, that their authority is only commensurate with the consent of the slave. The principle is false, and in the way of their plainest duties.

Much less ought the slaves to be told so. Vexed, galled and ground down to the dust, as they are, a small potion from the cup of radicalism may be enough, to infuriate and instigate them to whelm us all in one vast and terrible convulsion, and to make shipwreck of our and their true welfare, on a sea of blood. Their natural instincts of obedience to kind and well-wishing masters, should be cherished and strengthened. They should be taught to regard their true interests, as inseparably bound up in their hearty co-operation with such masters, and all those mutual affections should be cultivated, without which their state is one of distress and misery. All the rewards of honorable exertion, the avenues to respectability, as far as possible, with all the incitements of perseverance and industry, should be open to them. Nor should they be taught to regard the guardianship and supervision of their masters as incompatible with this. They ought not to feel that subordination is one with degradation, but should be content to occupy the place to which their endowments and necessities destine them, and they should consider their truest dignity and elevation of character, as consisting in the due fulfilment of their appointed sphere of duty. No legislative obstacles should stifle or imprison their aspirations and efforts, to reach the conscious pride and dignity of freemen. On the presentation of sufficient proofs of competency, they should be allowed to run their race for

political or other distinctions. It may be, however, that their debasement is such, that stronger proofs of this fitness become necessary, on their part, than on the part of the whites; while, in the latter case, obstacles to the acquisition of political power are too few and yielding. And it may be, that color is the token by which the class of persons required to furnish such proofs, is recognized and determined; as a certain amount of property is often made the criterion of fitness among our white population.

Nor does their color, therefore, ostracize them from the rights of men. It merely indicates, how far it is well for them to discharge certain offices, in order to enjoy their rights most fully and beneficially. It may be, that their long enslavement, comparative inferiority to the whites, combined with the deeply rooted prejudices which are abroad *in fact*, (whether justly or not, we do not inquire,) will preclude them from fair and equitable competition. It is matter of rejoicing, that a noble and comprehensive charity is extensively patronized in our land, which aims to conquer this obstacle. It opens an asylum to the aspiring spirits among the blacks, on their native soil, where they are no longer aliens and bondmen to interest or prejudice, are independent and untrammelled, have equals for rivals, and labor without disadvantage or restriction. That the very aim, therefore, of the Colonization Society presupposes that slavery ought to cease, no reasonable man can doubt. That its movements are all in the line of its extermination, just as would be the guarding of the marriage tie, or the performance of any other duty towards the slaves, there is as little room to doubt. But that this is all our duty towards them, that this indirect and partial enterprise, this circuitous skirmishing in the neighborhood of slavery, supersedes the necessity and duty of an open, direct and fearless reprobation of the sin—of striking a blow directly at its vitals, we do not believe. Let those consider the matter, who are satisfied that they have nothing more to do, than to make some slight contributions to its resources.

And let those too bethink themselves, who are envenoming the blacks, and all capable of being touched by their phrenzy with hate, bitterness and fury against the founders and patrons of this noble charity. Let them cease those coarse and spiteful vituperations, which are hopelessly alienating the true friends of the blacks from all sympathy and co-opera-

tion with themselves, and from all further consideration of their duties in reference to the subjects. Let them beware, how they prejudice the blacks, who are ambitious, unsatisfied and restless here, against that retreat from oppression to the independence and dignity of manhood, which has been provided for them. Let them beware, how they infuse turbulence, envy and petulance, into those, whom they delude to continue here, or who are otherwise compelled to remain. "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their masters worthy of all honor." And let them remember the divine command, to withdraw from such as teach otherwise. As the foot cannot say it is not of the body, because it is not the hand, so neither can the servant say, he is not a man, nor occupying his place as a man, because he is not master. And as the eye cannot say to the ear, "what need have I of thee?" so neither can servant say to master, or master to servant, "what need have I of thee?"

And lastly let those bethink themselves who persist in these abominations. If they fail to repent and undo their iniquities, let them learn from the past, the fate that awaits them. History is but a ceaseless unfolding of the weal or wo consequent on principles maintained, or principles violated. The revulsion of the un pitying, indiscriminate caprice of Charles I. on his own head, shows how far it is safe for one human being to treat superciliously or irreverently in others, that which puts them above the rank of beings merely sentient, and confers rights even as it imposes duties which no man can destroy, or rightfully fail to recognize. So certainly operative is this tendency, that the imprisonment of a few innocent seamen, which occasioned pecuniary loss too small to be considered, and whose condition placed them below any other sympathy than the consciousness of a causeless and intolerable wrong perpetrated against that higher being which we feel working within us in common with all, aroused and embattled a whole people in their defence. Whence came Clarkson's and Wilberforce's triumph, when, after being thwarted again and again, they bounded back at each repulse with augmented vigor, and at length bore down all the obstructions of self-interested wickedness, which witnessed its own discomfiture in the irrepressible rejoicings of a whole people? They maintained the truth, against those who had outraged the truth. How comes it, that a despised band of pugnacious and awry

speculators, in spite of the hateful bitterness and personality which season their appeals, are yet starting increased sympathy and enlarging alliances, amid the very salt of the earth, which though grieved and repulsed by the acrid and virulent tone of their writings, is not content to remain indifferent or inactive, in forwarding their ultimate aim? There is no mistaking this voice, nor its origin. It is saying to oppressors, in tones too mighty to be longer smothered, "quit your inhumanity and stay your oppressions." The primary instincts of man, the spirit of civilization, the diffusion of knowledge, the growth and spread of civil liberty, all erect themselves in dire array before you, and warn you, not to lay yourselves bare to the gathering thunder-burst of indignation from all human kind! If you obstinately resist the light, and grind down God's image into commixture with the dust, think not to evade the fit retributions of eternity or time. The day is speeding on, when it will be vain mockery to plead, that God winks at the times of ignorance. His people will feel and know the hollowness of the plea; and their hearts yearn with a sympathy as strong as their love of God, towards the oppressed.

But if no human heart should beat in pity for the victims of violated humanity, there is a Being, the pulsations of whose heart vibrate through the universe, and who holds all things in the hollow of his hand. He has said, VENGEANCE IS MINE, and that vengeance is denounced in no stinted measure against the oppressor. The crisis is at hand and if you do not avert it by a speedy repentance, by doing justice and loving mercy, it must come, when this mass of humanity, this latent body of etherial fire which now lies crushed and smothered under the burthens grievous to be borne, imposed upon it by your cruelty, will swell and burst its fetters, and overwhelm you in the shock. The intimations of God's ordinary providence, show that the lash and the stocks will not long avail to keep out light and knowledge. Nor does He fail to visit enormous and high-handed wickedness with special judgments. In vain do you appeal to the laws of his theocracy, in justification of barring out the victims of your cruelty from all knowledge of themselves and God, from all HOPE here, or hereafter. The periodical proclamation of ransom to the Hebrew slaves, their protection from wanton and capricious cruelty, the sedulous instruction given them in their duties to God and man, rebuke the impious



attempt. Which things if you fail to do, and may God avert such an issue, but if you fail to do them, and remain deaf to the monitions of conscience and his word, be ready for direr evils and more tremendous visitations upon yourselves, when there shall be a revulsion from your grinding tyranny to fierce insurrection, anarchy, and bloodshed, and the victims of your cruelty shall be upon you in the temper and attitude of mad revenge.

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### ARTICLE III.

#### THE ORIGIN, NATURE, PRINCIPLES AND PROSPECTS OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORM.

THE temperance reform began with a few individuals. They were among the thoughtful, well principled and well educated men of the State of Massachusetts. Intemperance was making progress in our country with a rapidity which exceeded even the increase in our population, and men almost despaired of arresting it. The reformers saw that this vast moral evil could only be cured by a moral remedy. Various other means they knew had been thought of and tried. Legal enactments, excise laws, with penalties for their infringement, were among these. Every thing showed how deplorably they had failed. But for every moral evil God has provided one only and sure remedy, a moral one. This most grateful truth was at length seen in all its relations to the great evil of intemperance, and men looked to it with the full confidence which a great natural principle always excites. The foundations of the undertaking were thus made to rest on an original moral truth. Regard was constantly had, in its earliest movements, to the circumstances of the times in which it was begun, but with this always came the deep conviction of its ultimate success. It was foreseen that it must be vast in its extent, and it was further believed that it was to be permanent in its results.

If men could be awakened to the great truth that their religious, their moral, and their intellectual nature, was a possession of incalculable value, and that in the highest cultivation of that nature was their truest felicity, it was foreseen that the reform which promised and secured such cultivation, had in it the sure promise of being alike extensive and permanent. The earliest movers in the temperance reform saw that their undertaking was a *new* one in an important sense. It was *new* in that men of great consideration in the community, solemnly impressed with the ruinous tendency of intemperance, and with its alarming and hitherto unchecked progress, came out as one man to make open declaration of their convictions, and, in a special manner, to separate and to pledge themselves to the greatest of all causes, the cause of reform. There was nothing fanatical or rash in any of their proceedings. They did not set themselves as judges of other men's affairs. It was for themselves, and for the whole human family that they came forward to show how for each and for all, ruin to soul and body, to mind and estate, was by a paramount necessity the consequence of intemperance.

The attempt then to eradicate this vice, was with these individuals a *new* one. This fact is an important one. It is not stated with so much distinctness in order to direct public attention to the first movers in this great cause. They do not ask it, they do not require it. The fact is important because it teaches, what indeed has been again and again taught before, that the distinct apprehension of a great evil, connected, as in these individuals, with as distinct a notion of the means of eradicating it, contains within itself the essential elements of all great and successful enterprises. This fact, in the present instance, also teaches how long the most important truths may remain unknown, or if apprehended at all, in such a way only as to be productive of no small or permanent practical results.

In the fullest sense of its novelty was the undertaking begun. Its first efforts were directed against the *intemperate* use of ardent spirits. The history of the times furnished instances of their *temperate* use. Perhaps some of the reformers themselves were instances. This use of them was accounted hospitality, and a man might have been thought deficient in this great virtue who did not commonly so use them. The same use extended to the domestic

circle, and the dinner and supper table would have been thought wanting in a daily article of drink which did not furnish some form of alcohol. We may now think of this as hardly possible, but it is matter of sober history. It was in view of these facts that the reformers began. And the novelty of their attempt is thus further proved by the history of the times. The wisdom of their plan is easily shown. It is proved by the circumstance that temperate drinking was recognized as no departure from the strictest morality, and in the instances of all those who confined themselves to the strictest temperance it was no such departure. They understood the rule exactly, and dreamed as little of its violation in their own cases, as do those who now totally abstain, of violating the pledge under the sanction of which they daily and hourly practise this total abstinence.

Was it not wise that no more was attempted in the times we speak of? Has the reform been checked for a day in its onward progress by this distinct reference by the reformers to the circumstances of their times? I answer that it has not. The earliest movements were necessarily slow. Men looked with doubts about the results of the enterprise, and some men with suspicion about the motives of the reformers. There was occasion found in this extraordinary movement for deliberate argument against the wisdom of the undertaking, and the more powerful weapon, sarcasm, was not forgotten among the means employed to defeat it. But neither the opposing circumstances of the times, nor the direct, nor indirect agencies to obstruct its progress, which the reform gave rise to, have produced this effect. It has gone steadily onward gaining and diffusing light in its whole career.

At first the undertaking moved slowly, and to some it did not move at all. Its earliest friends were the habitually temperate. They were deeply convinced of the virtue they practised, for the practice was based on principle. But they were most anxious that what was to them so great a blessing might be equally so to all. They knew the power of example, but they also knew that intemperance removed its victim from the influence of this ordinarily powerful motive. He was to be sought then, and to be addressed directly, touching the danger and ruin that attended him. There was no other way of reaching him. The reformers were thus obliged, by the very circumstances of the case, to come out, and to make the public a friend or a foe to their noble enterprise.

But it was not the circumstances of the intemperate only, or chiefly, that retarded the progress of the reform. The public, though fully aware of the extent of the evil, could hardly be supposed acquainted with the remedy. There was no experience to guide them, and the novelty of the reform had none to furnish. There was very much the same feeling evinced towards it, that has been manifested in every period of human history, on the first promulgation of any great plan which has proposed important changes in the customs of society. It has been the same when some mighty mind has appeared, in advance of its age, and promulgated as most important truths, what, it may be, have never till then been brought distinctly before a community or the world. This has been alike the case with both literature and science; and for ages truths of unspeakable value have been looked upon as the dreams of the visionary, and as entitling their authors rather to reprehension than to fame.

Now there is reason for this, and in many cases it is of great use. It is hardly to be supposed that the discovery which is to unsettle a science will be at once admitted; and the doubt which demands further evidence, is not only a pardonable but wholesome skepticism. So with discoveries in morals. The new principle which is to subvert old and established practice is never unworthily treated when submitted to unprejudiced investigation. The same is true of literature. We may now be surprised at what seems the insensibility of a former age to some of the mightiest achievements of the human intellect. But it was the misfortune of their authors, if it were one, to have lived in advance of their time. There was light, but the darkness comprehended it not. The mere naked fact, however, that the mind had done so much, had in its very self a promise that there would arise those who would apprehend what had been written, nay more, who would find in the immortal record, inspiration for themselves, and even add new light to what they had received; give to it new directions, and modify it as the changing circumstances of men and times might require.

What has been traced in a few words, is just what has happened in regard to the temperance cause. Men have waited that the experiment might be fairly made, the reform severely tried, before they have felt willing to send in their adhesion. But this very course has made the reform a matter of frequent and serious thought; and as its principles are



too true not to be fully admitted when patiently investigated, those who doubted most when they were first presented to them, have become the firmest friends of the reform. The conviction it may be has been slowly produced, but it has derived a fullness and strength from this very fact, which a more sudden conversion might not have secured. This slowness of the early progress of the reform, has been most favorable to the cause. Many and most important changes have been brought about in its progress. There has been a constant reference to what has been already done, in every new step that has been taken, and the cause has been saved in this way from much that might have appeared reasonable prejudice, had any other course been pursued; and it has daily and almost hourly made new friends.

To the careless observer this progress may seem to have been different; and some recent alteration in the measures of reform, are claimed to have been original, at least independent of what preceded them. For one especially has this character been claimed. The total abstinence principle which has within a few years been introduced, and is now almost universally adopted as fundamental. The pledge is a part of the same measure. These, both of them, have been of vast importance. No true friend of the cause can for a moment question the powerful and successful agency of these principles. They have saved multitudes who were in the sure way to ruin, and thus have kept thousands from entering that fatal path.

Since the universal promulgation of these principles, the cause has gone forward after a manner most extraordinary for its rapidity. A noble foundation had been already laid, and on it the superstructure and crown of the labor rose with a beauty and a grandeur which could not fail to engage the interest and admiration of all the good in every community. These principles were aided in their operation by another very interesting fact, furnished by an anterior period of the reformation. Men were at length so truly satisfied that it was founded in true philanthropy, that they were no longer ashamed to be numbered among its friends. This was a vast step. Nothing is more fatal to any cause, however important it may be, than the ridicule which may incidentally or more directly attach to it. The temperance cause was peculiar for the obstacles it met in this direction. There were embarrassments often, even

where open ridicule could hardly be encountered. One does not always like to be at issue with those about him concerning any matter, and especially on a question of doing, or abstaining from doing, that which in one's own individual case may be indifferent, and becomes important only as it may contingently operate as example. Still the case was met with sufficient firmness, but with no ostentation; with no forth-putting of acting upon other or better principles than one's friends. It was an easy and conciliating exercise of what was felt to be a virtue, so that what was at first strictly voluntary, soon became what all right conduct ought to be in order to be safe, entirely habitual.

We can hardly refrain from commenting distinctly on these interesting facts in the history of the temperance reform. How wisely did it begin? In what beautiful proportions have its various parts been developed? It has had, and the fact is a most important one, a growth in perfect correspondence with all occasions and all demands. It has not gone on too fast. Its progress has been that of all great and permanent institutions. It appealed to the constitution of man's whole nature, both the intellectual and physical, and in never overstepping the modesty of that nature, it has commended itself to every one who could be induced to bestow on it almost the least attention. When once thought on seriously, the thought has remained, it has become deeper and deeper, the father of many and kindred thoughts. Individuals who observe in themselves the progress, the developments, the changes which their minds experience on all important matters about which they will think, have been surprised at the results at which they have arrived, on this great subject, the temperance reform. They are surprised when they look back on the state they were in regarding it, when it was first suggested to them, and compare that truly with their present views. They can hardly believe that they are the same men, who admitted the thought with reluctance, and dismissed it without regret. They now become the active agents in the reform, and occupy themselves about all good and tried means to carry it forward, and at the same time study to discover new ones. How important to this cause that the number of such friends should be daily added to it! Light, information, only are wanted to secure to it the willing co-operation of every good man in every community.

It is proposed in the next place to state at such length as the

subject demands what the temperance reform truly is, upon what principles it has proceeded, and what are its claims. The subject is not without its difficulties. It is not easy for its friends to speak of it without at least the appearance of enthusiasm. This to many always prejudices a cause, however good it may be. It is difficult, very difficult to present truth, obvious truth, in just such an aspect as it shall strike all to whom it is addressed in the same way. This is true where no prevalent prejudice is in its way. Let us however only have such prejudice ready to meet us at all points, and the task of the philanthropist becomes discouraging indeed. He meets with trouble on all hands. There may be cool friends to his cause, and these may have more or less influence. These shake the head, and lift the hand, with that eloquence of action which moves more than words, and then wonder that so much mistake and error are mingled even with the truly good of human striving. They have not found a perfect scheme in the necessarily imperfect system, and this is good cause for shutting their eyes on all, about the real value of which they feel no sort of doubt. In the history of the temperance reform, few circumstances have been so discouraging as this. These cool friends, with their minds only occupied about really trivial mistakes in the detail of a vast enterprise, have kept aloof from all active concern in the matter; have done nothing to correct the evil; but in some instances have exerted a most unhappy influence by recounting their disappointments and regrets, and these as often to the disaffected and opposing, as to the true friends of the cause. Such men want light. They should be made to understand that it is not the part of wisdom to look only on the questionable and uncertain, when a blaze of light and of truth surrounds them on all sides. Especially should they be cautioned not to aid the cause of opposition where a vast matter is at issue, nor to argue against a good because it is not wholly and exclusively a good; for what is this but to make war upon the most valuable institutions of man.

Besides this class of indirect opposers or unfruitful friends of this reform, light is wanted concerning it by a very large class who have in no measure or sense been its friends, who have looked upon it as inexpedient and ill-timed, and as designed to interfere with concerns which are wholly personal to the individuals of every community. In this class are included

men of all ranks and conditions. It has wealth, knowledge, benevolence, yes, true philanthropy in its ranks, and claims to be approached with respect and kindness. No friend of the reform would for a moment withhold from them what of both of these they have the power or opportunity to bestow. He honors them truly and deeply for the wide and noble interest they have displayed in most important directions. They feel that they have done so much, so filled the measure of many claims, that it is almost asking too much of them to give a new direction to their beneficence or their influence. But this cause is so great a one that its friends most earnestly ask for it the help, the powerful aid of the class now referred to, and they are certain, if the nature of this reform were developed to them as it should be, that they would be numbered amongst its truest supporters.

What now is this reform, or rather what does it propose to do—what are its principles, and what are its prospects? We have to consider the nature, the true character of the temperance reform, what it has done, and what it is to do.

In the first place, this reform proposes a great and entire change both in the habits of the mind and of the body. Modes of thinking, and modes of acting, the feelings and the principles are all of them so many objects to which it directs its special regard. It recognizes distinctly in every individual of its regard a susceptibility to influence,—that the mind and all its powers, the heart and all its affections, are still possessed, and all of them capable of all their ordinary manifestations and uses. These are indeed obscured, and overlaid, pressed down by a vast weight, but still the power remains. It not only remains, but is always ready to declare itself. It does declare itself, and for periods of different length, after a manner so unequivocal, and with an energy so effective, that the individual again recognizes it. He even welcomes its return, and mourns over the waste which he has allowed it to experience, and the ruin to it which has impended. He will tell us with fearful eloquence with what unmingled wretchedness he looks back upon his folly and his guilt, and with all this, will acknowledge, with shuddering, his conviction that he wants power to resist temptation, and that he may in an hour be as degraded as he has ever been. He feels that a physical malady has been produced by intemperance, and that a diseased body has been made the abode of his infirm mind. The action of each upon the



other has become perfectly reciprocal, and amid such an association he looks with despair for moral courage or moral health. In some individuals, so perverted is the whole moral and physical condition, that alcohol will be sought for as the supreme good, while it is acknowledged by the same men, that it is most disgusting in its taste, and most revolting in its effects. They will commit theft to obtain it, and when every thing else fails, will drink it though mixed with most nauseous drugs, or matters still more disgusting. In some it is in no sense a social habit. They will go away from home or their friends, and pass the day or the week in a state of unbroken drunkenness, and return as squalid and wretched as are the victims of neglected disease. In some of the strongest of these cases, is the conviction deepest of the loathsomeness of the vice, and the consciousness of inability to overcome it.

It is the purpose of this reform to come to such men with sympathy and respect. It has for such a charity that never faileth. The bad habit may have been produced by a neglect of principle, a total heedlessness of conscience. Warning may have been disregarded. The strong claims of kindred and friendship may have been unheeded or treated with contempt; a wilful negligence of all good and kind and wise influence may have been unhesitatingly practised, and the career of intemperance been madly run. But the times of other and better thoughts which come to all, will happen to such even as these. It is for such times that this reform is ever looking and for ever laboring. These it is which it respects, it is for these it offers its sympathy and its best aids. It is for these it began, and it is for these it has ever labored, and been blessed in its labors. And what more certain success can crown human effort? What higher purpose can any reform propose? Who will not enter into its labors? What valid objection can be made to it? What is this reform? What more than the union of good men of all orders for the single purpose of expressing to whole communities that they are deeply interested in the moral good and happiness of all men? It knows how strong is the power of habit. It sees this in every victim of intemperance. Its sole purpose is to release men from this most oppressive chain. To give freedom to that power of doing good, and being so, which all possess. It is by example it mainly acts, and by this it aims to teach not only how diffusive is excellence, but how universal it may be.

One species of intemperance has been referred to. Another and a much larger one, it is equally the purpose of this reform to meet and to abolish. In this class are comprehended all those in whom the habit is equally confirmed, but in whom the moral sense was never very active, and in whom it has in a good measure become extinct, at least almost wholly inoperative. There may be moments of true feeling in many of this class, but they are rare, and the opportunities for bringing out this feeling, and of giving it useful vigor, do not often occur, nor are they, from the condition of the class, very likely to be suggested. Habit in these has been confirmed by time—by a reckless indulgence—by the power of evil example, by the want of all opposing influences. Perhaps no cases are more unpromising, but even for these much has been done. The means which the reform has employed to accomplish its purposes towards this class are peculiarly interesting, and deserve distinct notice. I say the reform, for it is to this I most willingly ascribe all and every kind of effort which has been made, no matter what has been its distinctive character, for the suppression of intemperance.

To meet this class of cases, the friends of the reform have adopted such measures as have prevented—made it impossible for the intemperate to obtain alcohol in any of its forms. This has been done in many villages, nay, in many large towns in this commonwealth, and so effectually, that the entire traffic in ardent spirits has, by a simultaneous movement, been abolished. The extent of this has been truly extraordinary, hardly to be credited. Not only have the temperate in such places come forward in the promotion of this great measure, but the grocers, the taverners, and victuallers, have lent their most important and deservedly honored aid. And I can add to all this, which is most important of all, drunkards themselves, as if incapable of resisting so mighty a power of truth and good,—or rather, in obedience to the moral power in their own nature, have yielded their willing assent to the same measures, and pledged themselves to abstain. How easy now has the sacrifice been. They could not obtain ardent spirits. The day, the week, and the month, have passed by without the indulgence. They have ceased to desire it. The habit of temperance, of total abstinence, has taken the place of habitual intemperance, and its new friends have waked as from a dream, to the sense of self-respect, of their honest claim to the kindred respect of all the wise

and the good around them. They have been sustained in their new position by every thing, by the easy opportunity of acting well, and the silent but sure encouragement of their whole community. There is nothing of the imaginative in this simple history. I have spoken only the words of truth and soberness. So true has it been that intemperance has wholly ceased in such places, that if by chance a drunkard should be met with in them, it has been at once said, and proved as quickly, that he is a stranger, a vagrant, from some border town or village, into which the reform has not yet penetrated.

I said, this account of what the reform has proposed for the class of the intemperate now described, and of the means which it has employed to accomplish its purpose towards them, deserved a distinct place in these remarks. No one who gives it the consideration it deserves, will doubt this. The account places beyond question a truth which the reform especially wishes to spread far and wide, viz. the moral power which is possessed by all those who will advocate this cause, and the moral power which remains even to the most intemperate, upon which the reform feels and knows it may act. It is a mistake then, and a very great one too, into which many have fallen, that the reform only or mainly proposes to *prevent* intemperance. It has another, and no less solemn and important ministry. This is to restore to temperance those who have fallen, who are the most fallen. To raise them again to the high places of virtue, of prosperity, and happiness, and to sustain them there by all the direct and indirect influences which a kindred virtue may, and always does exert. Let this be distinctly and universally understood. It is due to the reform that it should be so understood, else half of its purpose is unknown.

These means have been applied in particular places, and where circumstances were so favorable as to secure their success. But for this same class, as well as for the two others enumerated, in places not so circumstanced, large cities for instance, in which the diversities of interest, and difference of feeling have prevented such attempts thus far, various other means have been in steady operation. Such, for example, are public discourses,—debates,—tracts and pamphlets, in almost every variety of form, and number,—personal and direct application to the intemperate themselves; and lastly, and perhaps chiefly, the open, uncompro-

mising example of total abstinence displayed by the friends of the reform every where,—these should all be specially enumerated as among the means which have been of the most extensive application, and which have resulted in a vast good. Every temperate man, whether so from mere habit, or from strict principle, has been either an indirect, or a direct means, in the daily and constant employment of this reform. He has been part and parcel of that vast moral machinery which has been put into operation in our day; and the momentum which he has alike received and imparted, has, in the truest and highest sense, contributed to its ceaseless activity and wide success.

From the foregoing particulars the nature of the temperance reform may be easily gathered. It is the moral power of a community, or of a nation, distinctly and efficiently directed to a single specific object. Its extent and its dignity are inferences from its nature. So many men have perhaps never before so emphatically enrolled themselves for the accomplishment of any purpose. Certainly so many, and such men, have never appeared as the advocates of a cause in which they personally had less direct interest. They have felt indeed, and very strongly, that interest in it which good men have, and always should have, in every plan for securing a wide good. But this has been the limit of the interest. The dignity of this reform is a like property of its nature. If it call and press into its ranks the wise and good every where, it is felt that the service is a solemn and highly responsible one. This dignity attaches to the reform as an element in its constitution. It is the elevation which of necessity belongs to every purpose of great beneficence, and without ever being referred to as a motive for entering into its labors, or for imbuing its spirit, it gives character to every proper effort which is made for its progress. A man feels sure, that in this cause he is acting from a high motive, and is seeking and laboring to do a great good. He in short becomes identified with the cause itself; a pleasure comes to be attached to his toils, which is their unconscious reward, and a motive for perseverance is for ever present, which makes exertion most grateful. The nature of this reform is thus truly moral and intellectual. It belongs alike to the mind, and to the heart—the affections and the intellect. It is impossible that it should be selfish, and yet it is felt that it wants no such attribute to secure to it either undiminished activity, or unchecked progress.



We come in the next place to a very important inquiry, viz. the principles upon which the temperance reform has thus far proceeded, and which it regards as fundamental. Some of these have been already involved in the present discussion, and it would not have been easy to speak of its nature without adverting with more or less particularity to them. Thus we have seen that the reform began with *temperance* in the use of ardent spirits, and would seem to have looked to the accomplishment of its true purpose in the *prevention of intemperance*. Next we found a new principle introduced, that of total abstinence. After this came the pledge. It has been shown how successful has been the operation of these principles. They were adopted after a careful investigation of the whole ground; and I shall, in the next place, point out from what considerations they came finally to be fully recognized as fundamental.

It is well known to all those who early attended to the subject, that, originally, a principal reason for temperance was the liability to excess. It was thought that there was no necessary evil involved in moderate drinking—that the body and mind were alike safe from harm while the limit of moderation was strictly observed. Nay more, the opinion was quite general that the vigor of both mind and body was increased by such use, and a man could do more bodily labor, and use his mind to much more advantage when aided by stimulating drinks than by avoiding their use. Now these were settled convictions in the minds of the multitude of men, and they had been acted upon for ages with most lamentable results. It was felt, yes, fully understood and acknowledged, that it would become necessary to increase the quantity, to exceed the limit of moderation, as the indulgence was the longer practised; but so long as absolute drunkenness was avoided, there was felt to be no need for recommending abstinence. This state of the public opinion, and that too among men not very accessible, the laboring classes, and their employers, presented a serious obstacle to the progress of the reform. Here was personal interest largely engaged on the side, if not of intemperance, of a habit in many, almost a majority, which would end in its most confirmed forms. Here, too, was habit itself on the side of intemperance, for such it was in the great concerns of health and strength, although the individuals might have moral force sufficient to save themselves from open drunkenness.

The reform met this grave case in the only way in which it could be successfully encountered, viz. by direct experiment. The question was not allowed to rest on what the supposed interested reformer might say on the true value of abstinence to all concerned, to the laborer, and to him who employed him. But experiments were instituted on a scale too large to leave any doubt as to the decision; and it was proved, most satisfactorily proved, that ardent spirits did not give strength to the body, or useful vigor to the mind. We have the results of these experiments in the recorded facts obtained from the farmer, the mechanic, the ship-master, the ship-owner, the high departments of the general government, the secretaries of war and of the navy, all, all teaching this great truth, and giving an authority to this reform alike important to itself, and most honorable to those who have furnished it. This single paragraph contains in it a truth of inestimable value. Who can bring it distinctly before him, and think of it in itself, and its wide relations, without giving to the whole subject his most serious consideration, and aiding it with his best powers? The principle has thus been fully established, that the use of ardent spirits is not necessary for either continued or successful labor of any kind.

The establishment of this principle was a great step, not in itself merely, or principally, but in what immediately followed. Was the use of ardent spirits simply and wholly useless? Was there not something else, and more important, connected with their comparatively temperate use? This question could not be directly settled by experiment, as was the first. Observation was appealed to, and this has fully established one highly important principle, viz. that the use of ardent spirits mainly as a refreshment, and to enable a man to continue his labor, is injurious, seriously hurtful to particular organs or parts of the body, and through the injury done to them, hurtful to the whole frame. A very brief, and perfectly intelligible, reference to one or two facts in the physical constitution of man, will suffice to show how ardent spirits are injurious.

What most obviously distinguishes a living form from all other forms of matter, is its motion, its activity, its energy. We are so familiar with all this, that it hardly ever excites even a passing remark. Still it is the great external distinguishing mark of the living being. Let us speak of it as

manifested by man. In man action depends on two things, *power* in the instruments of motion, and *will* to direct them in the use of that power. Now perfect health consists in perfect harmony of the instruments, the power, and the will. While this harmony is preserved, the individual may accomplish with ease, nay, with pleasure, as much of labor of any and all kinds, as is consistent with his entire safety. He finds himself disposed to exert his whole powers both of body and mind, as ready instruments to aid him in all his exertions. What is thus true of the actions that are visible, and of which we are in a sense always conscious, is equally true of those internal operations, actions, or functions, as they are sometimes called, on which we depend every moment of our lives for the continuance of our very being. These actions have of course organs which perform them, and these organs have a power on which that performance every where and every moment depends. All these are alike most healthful when a similar harmony prevails among them, as was stated to be necessary for the fullest health of the organs of motion first referred to.

What now are the effects of the popular forms of alcohol in use upon this living organization? What have been demonstrated to be these effects? Alcohol, in a few words, increases the action at the expense of the power. More may, for a time, be done with their use, but ultimately the power comes to be wasted. At length the instruments themselves become enfeebled; they resist imperfectly the causes which are always operating for their injury and destruction. The instruments at length become altered themselves. They grow disproportionate to each other. Some acquire great size, some are wasted. Some, again, become hard, nay, acquire almost a bony hardness, while others lose their natural firmness, and degenerate into a soft, almost half-organized structure. The blood-vessels are deeply injured, and their proper coat loses the beautiful smoothness and softness, the delicate whiteness of health, and degenerate into yellow, thick, rough tubes; and the blood which they heavily circulate, has lost some of its characteristic properties, and alike wasted in its strength with the whole body, is watery and almost useless. Fat accumulates around the internal organs, and obstructs most important functions, while the whole surface of the body, with the features themselves, suffers in the general deterioration.

This is no exaggerated account of the effects of ardent spirits upon the human frame,—and how melancholy are their effects upon the mind. This too from excessive, and for a time it may be pleasurable excitement, loses much of that which adorns and ennobles it. Depression of its best powers—gloomy discontent—impatience under common trials—open violence—insanity, or self-murder under life's heavier ills—these are among their effects upon the moral and intellectual powers. They produce these by the injury they do the brain and the nerves—and by the indulgence of morbid thinking to which they surely lead.

Now what is the proof of all this? The establishment of a principle is its truth; belief in it rests on evidence. The proof is at hand. It is the diminished power, manifested by those who habitually use ardent spirits, to resist, or overcome disease, and especially to pass with safety through those surgical operations, and those accidents to which the circumstances in which all are placed, not unfrequently give rise or make necessary. A detail of facts to support this asserted proof, would be here wholly out of place. They are facts, established facts, and settle a principle kindred to and not less important than the one first named, viz. that the use of ardent spirits is not only wholly useless on the score of increasing health and strength, but most injurious, most pernicious both to health and strength. What is of special interest in this connection is the well known fact, that this deleterious agency is exerted by ardent spirits over the animal economy, even when they are not used to the extent of intoxication. The moderate daily use of them is as surely, though it may be more slowly, deleterious; and there are constitutions, and these are not uncommon, in which even a very moderate use will lay the sure foundation for future suffering and disease. A slight injury in such a frame will frequently be followed by destructive inflammation, and an ordinarily mild disease, place life itself in jeopardy.

The temperance reform then, has adopted and acted upon these principles as fundamental, and with the convictions that its friends have of the whole truth of these principles, they would have failed in a most important duty had they not openly and freely declared them.

The principles just noticed are derived from the human physical constitution, and from the known effects of alcohol upon this constitution. Similar and equally important prin-



ciples are presented by the moral constitution, and by the known effects produced in its manifestations on the character and conduct, by the use of alcohol. The reform has had little difficulty to convince men that intemperance is fatal to the best exercise of the moral powers, that it hurts, debases these powers, and in its extremest degrees goes nigh to destroy the moral faculty itself. It has ever derived highly important principles of action from these acknowledged facts. These have already come before us, when treating of the nature of the reform. It was there shown how naturally the principle of total abstinence became a part of the system, and how in many cases the doctrine and the practice of the pledge has been eminently useful. These principles have been adopted from a consideration of the claims of the individual to the regard of the reform. It has been to reclaim the intemperate, and to prevent intemperance, because to the individual this vice was so immense an evil.

#### PROSPECTS OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORM.

This is a subject of great interest. Progress almost of necessity, belongs to some matters of human pursuit, and if in such, progress be not continuously made, this does not necessarily involve a retrograde movement. The pursuit of natural science in all its departments is a striking instance of the truth of our remark. The natural philosopher, is an observer of facts which always remain the same. If he make an experiment the same result may always be looked for with entire certainty provided the circumstances be in all respects the same. Now he can control these circumstances, arrange all the previous details exactly as he has done before. Hence his entire certainty as to the whole result. Suppose now his interest in the pursuit ceases, or that he can no longer command the means for a further prosecution of his inquiries; what he has learnt belongs to the science he has cultivated. It can never be lost to it. A certain point has been gained, and though this may be the limit of knowledge in this particular direction, the knowledge to this point, this limit is settled and permanent. What more commonly happens in such a case is, that the individual prosecutes his labor, progress is constantly making, and he leaves his toil only when age, infirmity, or death, terminates his individual agency in prosecuting discovery. He has made the

whole scientific world the depositary of his discoveries, and even while he was most engaged about them, kindred minds have entered into his labors, and have thus pledged themselves to him, and to science, that they will carry them on to complete perfection.

Such is the nature of human inquiry in a most interesting direction. I suppose that in this very case much of the interest is found in the belief of scientific men in the certainty of the laws of nature, that these are fixed, are invariable, and that their knowledge of them is knowledge in the highest sense of the word.

How is it now with discoveries in morals? What assurance has the moralist who attempts a great change in manners or customs, that what he has done will be carried onward—that progress belongs to good, and that when he leaves his great work, there will be those ready who have imbibed his spirit, who will take up his mantle, and pursue his steps? Is the good he has done in any important sense permanent? and if effort in regard to it should cease, will what has been done remain, or will not the tendencies of things be to return to their former state? These questions are grave ones in their present connection. They must be seriously considered, when the leading one is proposed, ‘What are the prospects of the temperance reform?’ And this is the question upon which we now enter.

We may begin our answer to this question by recurring to what has already been done. The past in an important sense belongs to the future. How direct are its connections with the present. What in short is this present, this moment of being, but the result, the sum, whether great or small, good or evil, of all that has been. Not of what has been to us, but to all beings, and all things in all the long past. The temperance reformer, finds in the present condition of this reform, the sum of all the labor, and all the sacrifice which have been employed in this great cause. He looks at a result of momentous interest, and sees in every direction in which he looks for the causes of all this good, the traces, the deep traces of an intellectual and moral energy, which is without equal when it is considered how vast have been the numbers by whom it has been manifested. As in natural science, he sees that a single purpose has governed every movement, and that to gain and diffuse such light as would promote that single purpose has been the great object with

all. He is perpetually called upon for admiration at the success with which this labor has been crowned. It seems hardly credible that so much has been done, when the nature of the evil to be removed, and the simplicity of the means, are placed side by side. The past thus comes to us full of promise, and encourages every friend of the reform to go on with his labors, and holds out a prospect full of brightness and hope.

But with all this encouragement, our retrospects furnish some highly useful lessons in regard to the future. The reform at first, as we have seen, moved slowly. At length it acquired a prodigious momentum, and now it is full of zeal, of wise and commanding energy. It keeps its way amidst a thousand private troubles, and public depressions. The public press every where has taken its part, and thousands of publications are almost daily coming forth in aid of its progress. Eloquent men have brought their peculiar gift into its service—have penetrated into the depths, the sources of human feeling and human action—have awakened the conscience and left impressions too deep to be effaced by time, or lost when that which made them is withdrawn.

Now under the operation of these and many kindred causes, a great deal has been done. This amount of good has been produced too in a *short time*. This is an important fact in its bearings on our present subject. How shall this good be continued and added to?—to what shall this cause look for its future support, and uninterrupted progress? It must look for both these to that great principle with which we begun, the remedial moral power which has been provided for moral evil. This principle cannot be destroyed, and while it is made, or as far as it becomes a spring of action, that action must be permanent. It is this which lies at the foundation of all the lasting institutions of society. It is this which declares to us the evil of ignorance; and education, or its means, as a remedy, is the natural growth, if I may so say, of its declarations. We feel so sure of the evil here, of ignorance, have so deep an interest in its removal, that we estimate the means by which to remove it, as above price, and cheerfully contribute all of money and of talent within our circumstances. So it is with the temperance reform. It must be universally regarded as it has already become, one of the permanent necessary institutions of society, and so is allied after the closest manner with every other social and domestic

means, for the religious, the moral, and the intellectual progress of man. Its interests have been hitherto in some sense felt to be committed to a few—to individuals forming societies for the express purpose of publishing its doctrines, and showing by example its happy effects. It has been by this direct agency of societies, that the reform has made progress, and it must from the nature of things continue for a longer or shorter time to go on in a similar way. Its complete success, its permanent operation, however, must be looked for in the universality of the sentiment, that the personal interest of the individual, and of every individual in this cause, is the paramount concern among men. It must be felt that every man who practises entire abstinence, whether from a fixed principle, or merely from or for example sake, as truly belongs to this cause as if he were formally enrolled among its friends. As this becomes more and more the case, and how rapid is its progress, excitement in regard to the cause will be less. The timid, or the narrow thinker, may find in this, cause for alarm—he may see, in the quiet of a wide spread sobriety, a decay of principle. But his apprehension will be groundless. The only cause to which we should look as adequate to the destruction of much of the good which has been done, or what is equivalent to this, the checking the progress of the reform, is forgetfulness, or neglect of the great truths on which it so surely depends. Until this takes place, the cause has all the permanency, and certainty of progress, that belongs to physical science. For what truths are more emphatically such than moral truths? Of these we have the sure testimony of our whole moral and intellectual nature. We do not appeal to the senses to confirm them—their proof is ultimate and complete, the stern and solemn convictions of our own minds.

With so much to encourage its friends, the prospects of reform are to be, after all, gathered from the use of the principles which have so much engaged us. They will operate always; but the extent of the operation may be limited, and the progress retarded, by any and all misuse or misapplication of the means. Men are not to be forced into right conduct, either by their fears or their interests. Goodness must be short-lived, and very feebly operative, which comes of such means. It is not by general or municipal regulations that we are to call men from evil habits. We must go deeper than conduct; we must go deeply into that



whole moral state whence human action proceeds. In this matter we must not appeal to a majority of men for the measure or the kind of conduct of the smaller number. The majority may be wholly right in their doctrines and practice; but a vote has no charm to infuse either, into those who are wrong in both. Let us teach men where the evil they do lies, what are its sources, and all of them. Let us show every side of virtue, and with what felicity it is blessed. Let it be made to all men a personal concern, to think and act well. Let the moral principle be awakened from its long and profound slumber, and it will be to them in all its revelations and doings, the fast friend of their happiness, their sure guide to good. By such means, and by such means only, can we secure to this cause the permanency it claims of its friends. And proceeding on its true principles, we must secure to it all of progress that the nature of man allows us to hope for. To pursue an opposite course will be sure to create enemies. We shall find parties rising in this matter, and in this way one of the purest, one of the dearest of causes to the philanthropist, will come to be polluted by low and vulgar passions, presenting themselves in their most odious aspects. Suppose for a moment that it should be mixed up with what are called politics, and great or small questions of a public nature should be made to turn by the power of this reform. Nothing could be so fatal to it. Its great and distinguishing characteristic, its purely moral nature, would be taken away from it. It would itself soon again be lost sight of, in the jarrings and miserable strifes which now make Christianity mourn. The responsibility then, which rests with those who have an active agency in this matter, is not a light one. Making every allowance, however, for human infirmity, if the true principles of the temperance reform be steadily kept in sight, the interruptions to its progress will not be great, and its present bright prospects will be covered by no impenetrable cloud.

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## ARTICLE IV.

## THE WORKS OF THE REV. ROBERT HALL.

THE individual whose name is at the head of this article, has been long and widely known, and warmly admired. Of course our design is not an attempt to raise up into notice, one, whose genius and talents have no intrinsic force to secure ascendancy and attention. Reputation like Hall's, sustained by powers so vast and noble, will always take care of itself. It asks not the adventitious help of critical eulogy or purchased praise. The assumed arbiter of literary destiny can neither augment nor diminish, by his judgments and decrees, the lustre and elevation of his fame. Our object, in this article, is to give a candid estimate of the literary and professional character of Mr. Hall and of the probable influence of his works and name. As incipient and introductory to this design, it may be profitable to glance at the process of training, and the application by which he grew to greatness; for whatever our theories of the equality or inequality of native endowments, it must be conceded, that education has a chief influence in the structure, strength and symmetry of the mind.

Robert Hall was born at Arnsby, near Leicester, on the 2d of May, 1764; the youngest of fourteen children. Like Doddridge, his infancy was one of extreme and precarious feebleness. In the infantile stage, there were no remarkable intellectual indications. It was not till he was two years of age, that he could either talk or walk. No attempts were made, as sometimes are made, in the first dawn of being, to force knowledge upon him, or to decoy to inadequate mental exertion—attempts, in consequence of which, many minds that might have shone with peculiar brightness, have set in sad and premature gloom. He was not taught, till he seemed to solicit instruction. It was in a burial ground, situated near his father's house, that he first learned to read and spell; his nurse was his instructor, a grave-stone the text-book. After he *began* to learn, his progress was rapid, and he soon became a surprising instance of intellectual precocity. The following facts are related of him when attending an elementary school in a neighboring village. "On starting from home on the Monday, it was his practice to take with

him two or three books from his father's library, that he might read them in the intervals between the school hours. The books he selected, were not those of mere amusement, but such as required deep and serious thought. The works of Jonathan Edwards, for example, were among his favorites; and it is an ascertained fact, that before he was nine years of age, he had perused and reperused with intense interest, the treatises of that profound and extraordinary thinker, on the 'Affections' and on the 'Will.' About the same time he read, with a like interest, 'Butler's Analogy.' At the age of eleven, Mr. Simmons, his instructor, informed Mr. Hall that he must remove Robert from the school, for he was not able to keep pace with him, without sitting up all night to study; a practice to which his strength was inadequate. Young Hall then passed into the family of a valued friend of his father, Mr. Wallis, of Kettering, who was so much struck with the wonderful precocity of the lad, that he would frequently request him to deliver short religious addresses, before select companies invited for the purpose. Mr. Hall in subsequent life, occasionally alluded to this treatment with warmth, as palpably indiscreet and injurious." "I never call the circumstances to mind," he said, "without grief at the vanity it inspired; nor, when I think of such mistakes of good men, am I inclined to question the correctness of Baxter's language, strong as it is, where he says, 'Nor should men turn preachers as the river Nilus breeds frogs (saith Herodotus), when one half *moveth* before the other is *made*, and while it is yet *but plain mud*.'"

We have been thus particular in detailing circumstances of Hall's early development and training, as it is interesting to know something of the original movements of a great mind. In this instance, we behold the exhibitions of remarkable strength and comprehension in childhood. But it is not always thus with individuals who attain ultimate eminence. Indeed, we are inclined to the opinion, that ordinarily, precocity is an unfavorable symptom. At least, remarkable boys do not always make remarkable men. Greatness is generally of slow and arduous growth. "It has been observed by long experience," says Dr. Johnson on this very point, "that late springs produce the greatest plenty." This much we may safely affirm; great intellectual power is invariably the result of great and protracted intellectual exertion. On this account it may be, that many whose early promise was rather dim and dubious, transcend expectation, and astonish by the

splendor of their subsequent career. They were alone, in the solitude of the closet, in communion with wasting toil, silently forming and compacting the sinews of a robust strength, while those of brighter hopes were playing in the sun, squandering the golden season of preparation in vain endeavors for a premature fame. The man who would ever be any thing must struggle for it, and breast labor, and keep long at the wheel of mental toil, and put no trust in original endowments and facilities. Hall did so. Though he, if any, might have confided in native gifts, yet he did not in the least confide in them. He began with, and persisted in a hard application, and it was this that made him the giant he grew to.

Mr. Hall's preparatory studies were conducted at Northampton, under the eccentric Dr. John Ryland, where "he made great proficiency in Latin and Greek," and at the Baptist academy, Bristol, under Dr. Caleb Evans, where he read the learned languages, metaphysics, and divinity. In November, 1781, at the age of seventeen, Hall entered as a pupil at King's college, Aberdeen. Here he had the advantage of the luminous instructions of doctors Gerard, Campbell, and Beattie. But the most important and influential circumstance which attended his residence at this seat of learning, was the intimacy he formed with Sir James Mackintosh, there a fellow-student designed for the medical profession. These two minds, of a lofty structure, brought into connection, and warmed by frequent, friendly collision, undoubtedly contributed much to a mutual strength and elevation. Sir James says, "he became attached to Hall because he could not help it." Though their tastes were different, and but little congeniality of sentiment existed, yet their attachment was *strong*. "The *substratum* of their minds seemed of the same cast," they were kindred in greatness and power. Hence the firm bond of their union. They read together, sat together, walked together; being most of the time during their perambulations intensely engaged on the arena of moral and metaphysical disputation. In this way resources were accumulated, power increased and consolidated, acumen sharpened, and principles settled. And there was no loss of mutual kindness and regard. "The process seemed rather like blows in welding iron, to knit them closer together."

Immediately upon leaving Aberdeen, Mr. Hall became



associated with Dr. Evans, as assistant pastor of the church at Broadmead, Bristol; and soon after he was appointed classical tutor in the Baptist academy in that place. At this time he was only twenty-one years of age; a truly perilous amount of duty for one so young and inexperienced. But his mind was prompt and elastic, his resources were rich and abundant; and he accomplished the services and sustained the responsibilities of his station with credit and even applause.

We have arrived at the conclusion of Hall's academical career, but not at the conclusion of his scientific and classical studies. Though he had made peculiarly large and various acquisitions, and took at his first appearance before the world, an elevated and admired position, yet he was by no means satisfied with what he had gained. His capacious soul, with restless longings, reached out for more. There was a thirst for knowledge, strong, insatiable, ever growing in intensity. Amid professional duties and racking pains, it constrained him onward in the career and labor of unremitting acquisition. The works he sought to, for the nerving and storing of his powers, were not the light and ephemeral things of the day, but the productions of the veteran and massive thinkers of other times. He chose to go up and drink at the fountain, however difficult the access, rather than in the stream below, where the waters were injured by uncongenial admixtures. "When I first became known to Mr. Hall," says Dr. Gregory, "he had recently determined to revise and extend his knowledge in every department, 'to re-arrange the whole furniture of his mind, and the economy of his habits,' and to become a thorough student. He proposed devoting six hours a day to reading; but these, unless his friends sought after him, were often extended to eight or nine. He thought himself especially deficient in a tasteful and critical acquaintance with the Greek poets; and said he should 'once more begin at the beginning.' He set to work, therefore, upon the best treatises on the Greek metres then extant. He next read the Iliad and Odyssey twice over, critically; proceeded with equal care through nearly all the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides; and thence extended his classical reading in all directions." He kept up his intercourse, we believe, more or less intimately, with the master-spirits of antiquity, through his whole life. Plato was his favorite, and he once remarked, "that an entire disregard of his writings would be an irrefra-

gable proof of a shallow age." In connection with this systematic and thorough course of reading, he commenced the study of Hebrew, and prosecuted it with interest and success, reading daily, to the close of his life, a portion of the Old Testament in the original. He recurred also to his mathematical studies, and his object in doing it was, "the acquisition of so much geometry, trigonometry, and conic sections, as would enable him thoroughly to comprehend the entire scope of the reasoning in Maclaurin's 'Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries.' For this, indeed, his college studies had in a great measure prepared him; and there would have been but little to learn, could he have been satisfied to proceed as students often do. But it was not in his nature to advance, unless he ascertained the firmness of the ground at every step. He reasoned philosophically, for instance, upon the nature of ratios and proportions, so that we had to clear our way through the recondite lectures of Barrow relative to these points, before we could advance to trigonometry. His logical habits, also, made him very reluctant to pass over any geometrical proposition in which he could not trace the analysis as well as the synthesis. In this manner, and with such views we went through the proposed course." With the same thoroughness, was a course of reading on intellectual philosophy taken up and prosecuted. These things were done in mature and professional life, they were done as a part of the important and responsible business of life; and in the doing of them, Hall is worthy of praise and imitation. His diligence and habits of literary application administer a severe rebuke upon that spirit of indolence and neglect of classical culture, which prevails so generally in the professional ranks in this country. We speak with confidence and grief. The evidence is too clear to be resisted, of a premature and unresumed abandonment of literary pursuits by the majority of our educated men. There are some, it is admitted, and would that there were more, who prosecute, amid manifold and absorbing duties, a course of classical and scientific study. They are men who work upon system, and who of course find time and accomplish much, and grow in intellectual strength and stature. But with others it is unfortunately different. They have no system, and life runs to waste under the embarrassments of duties and accidents. Having no fixed plan and course, they become the sport and prey of an ever assaulting contingency.

They float on and do little or nothing. The material which nurtures the mind, and gives health to its essence, and symmetry to its features, is not administered. Unfed, untasked, the mind hardly retains its own, at best it is stationary. Study being repudiated when the profession is acquired, if not before, it follows inevitably, that scholars must be few, profound and eloquent men rare. Such a man as Hall is a prodigy and is praised. We look at his stature and wonder. But let it be remembered, that it was not by birth nor by chance, but by sober intention and inflexible toil (pardon the repetition) that he acquired his strength and celebrity. We hold up his course and character as a model and an incitement. There is no other method of success—no royal road to intellectual greatness. There is no end to an education. It is never completed so long as a man breathes. The rule is, be students even to the death-bed. The rule is practicable and efficacious. The object gained by its adoption is a great one—the growth, and power, and influence of mind. Neglect brings palpable guilt. Indolence is sin against the laws of our being, the requisitions of our Creator, and the moral interests of the world.

Having glanced at our author's habits of study and persisting efforts at acquisition, we will now turn to the manner in which he employed the splendid powers and rich treasures of his mind. We will consider him, first, as a preacher, then as a writer; interweaving, as we proceed, the prominent incidents of his life, and analyzing the peculiar traits of his character. He exercised his ministry in the following places, viz. in Bristol, as assistant pastor to Dr. Caleb Evans, of the Baptist chapel, Broadmead; in Cambridge, as successor to the Rev. Robert Robinson; in Leicester, and finally in Bristol, where he finished his earthly course Feb. 21, 1831. Mr. Hall's preaching was admired at the commencement of his public efforts, "The place of worship was often crowded to excess, and many of the most distinguished men in Bristol, including several clergymen, were among his occasional hearers." The brilliancy and force of his eloquence were universally acknowledged. But the effort, and the excitement it produced, were chiefly intellectual. At this time, Mr. Hall's mind appears to have been in advance of his heart; his intellectual in advance of his religious qualifications for the pulpit. According to his subsequent judgment, his piety, at this period, was very inadequate and superficial,

if not entirely wanting; nor was his religious belief by any means intelligently matured and settled; for he was a materialist, and rejected the personality of the Holy Spirit. But the disciplinary hand of Jehovah contributed to correct his errors and give depth and intensity to his piety. "His materialism he buried in his father's grave." A severe and dangerous sickness, in 1799, augmented still more his attachment to the doctrines of grace, having felt their power to impart peace and support on the near approach of eternity. The process by which, in connection with this visitation, he was convinced of the doctrine of the personality of the Spirit is interesting and instructive. "He was struck with the fact, that whenever in private prayer he was in the most deeply devotional frame, most overwhelmed with the sense that he was nothing, and God was all in all, he always felt himself inclined to adopt a Trinitarian doxology." This circumstance occurring frequently, and more frequently meditated upon in a tone of honest and anxious inquiry, issued at length in a persuasion, that the Holy Spirit is really and truly God, and not an emanation. A still more vigorous impulse to his religious character, and a very marked augmentation of his spiritual qualifications as a preacher, occurred in 1804. An event befell him of a most humiliating and melancholy character. It was no less than a temporary derangement of intellect. This great mind lost its balance and became apparently a mere wreck. There were two seasons of eclipse, occurring near to each other. When he had recovered from the last attack, he exhibited a piety of altogether another spirit and tone. "His own decided persuasion was, that however vivid his convictions of religious truth, and of a necessity of a consistent course of evangelical obedience had formerly been, and however correct his doctrinal sentiments during the last four or five years, yet that he did not undergo a thorough transformation of character, a complete renewal of his heart and affections, until the first of his seizures." However this might be, there was at this period a marked advancement in holiness, a change as palpable and striking almost as the original conversion of the soul to God. One of his first acts, after his recovery, was a solemn dedication of himself to God. The paper which expresses his feelings and resolutions, on this occasion, is incomparably impressive and interesting.

These facts would lead us to suppose that the character



of Mr. Hall's preaching changed very much in the course of his life. Such was really the case. In the early part of his ministry, there was a sad deficiency of evangelical sentiment and spirit. "The extent of God's mercy—the depth of the mystery of his designs—the inexhaustible treasury of his blessings and graces—the wonderful benefits flowing from the incarnation, humiliation, and sacrifice of the Son of God—the delightful privileges of the saints," were themes recurred to and enlarged upon with an inexcusable infrequency. But in his maturer labors he did much to redress and redeem these injurious deficiencies of his youth. He delighted to dwell and expatiate upon the heavenly topics of redemption. He would soar, as far as possible, up towards the height of its wonders, and sound the depth of its mysteries, and from the treasury of the gospel bring forth and diffuse a vivifying influence upon hearts and souls dead in sins. Perhaps we can in no other way be more successful in conveying an idea of Mr. Hall's manner and talents as a preacher, than by quoting from the description of an American gentleman who heard him at Bristol about two years before his lamented decease. "On account of Mr. Hall's public health, the service was commenced and continued to the close of the first prayer by Mr. C., one of the professors in the Baptist theological seminary in this place. He then left the desk and Mr. Hall walked in from the vestry and took his place. He is about a medium height, is rather inclined to corpulency, has a bold and striking countenance, and an eye the most expressive and piercing. The appearance of the man is altogether extraordinary; such as, if you had never heard of him, would lead you to expect that he would not speak long, without exhibiting intellectual greatness. He announced his text with so feeble a voice, that it required an effort for me to understand a word of it. . . . . For the first few minutes, I must acknowledge that I was disappointed. The manner was extremely feeble, and the thoughts were not greatly distinguished either for boldness or originality. Before he had proceeded far, however, I perceived that his feelings began to kindle, and that I was coming, almost insensibly, under a sort of electrical influence. Though not a word of his discourse was written, his delivery was extremely rapid, and every thought was expressed with as much precision and elegance, as if it had been carefully committed to paper. There was the same length of sen-

tences, the same graceful and flowing style, the same majesty of conception by which his printed sermons are so strikingly characterized. His manner, as he advanced, became powerfully impressive; the awkward gesture with which he began, of pulling the leaves of the Bible, he exchanged for a dignified and energetic motion of the hand; and his burning thoughts seemed to brighten every feature of his countenance, and nerve every muscle of his frame. His eloquence was the furthest possible from any thing like rhetorical flourish; it indicated nothing like effort, not even the consciousness of its magic power to sway, and melt, and agitate at pleasure; it seemed rather the natural and simple operation of a mind, which could not move without leaving behind it a track of glory; whose element was the brilliancy of the sun combined with the grandeur of the storm. His discourse, at its commencement, was like a stream at its rise, so inconsiderable that you might almost pass it without observation. In its progress it was like the same stream, expanding itself into a bold river, whose deep and crystal waters, rolling in silent majesty, reflect the brightest images which the sun ever paints upon the clouds. At its close, it was like the same stream pouring itself over a mighty cataract, with an impetuosity which causes the earth to shake around you, and yet with all the brilliancy which the sun, shining in his strength, and the rainbow casting its beautiful hues upon the surges, could impart. I had no doubt that I had had the privilege of hearing one of the noblest performances of this extraordinary man; . . . . I must acknowledge, after the specimen which I have had, I am quite prepared to accord with the popular sentiment in Great Britain, that Robert Hall is the greatest preacher of the present day."

Having given this eloquent general statement of the style and effect of Mr. Hall's preaching, it may be proper to subjoin a few remarks of a more specific character. Every one knows that he had many and transcendent excellencies as a preacher, combined with some deficiencies. Both, however, his excellencies and his faults, flowed directly from the peculiar and noble structure and habits of his mind. His mind was great in all its elements, rapid, glowing, excursive in its operations. It had an intense affinity to truths, and scenes of grandeur, and sublimity. Of course in his pulpit performances he had not come down to those distinctions, exceptions, and qualifications, which the circumstances of his

hearers and his own highest usefulness obviously demanded. He did not, as a general thing, proclaim the divine message with that directness upon the conscience, with that closeness and pointed singularity of application, upon which depends, to so great an extent, the reforming efficacy of the gospel. He often failed "to discriminate and individualize human characters . . . to maintain an intimate commerce with the actual condition of the hearers." It was not because he was unapprized of what was necessary to the present highest utility of preaching. The rule on this subject, has never been more clearly laid down, than by himself. He teaches us "that the preacher who aims at doing good, will endeavor above all things, to insulate his hearers, to place each of them apart, and render it impossible for him to escape by losing himself in the crowd;" and he was *capable* of this work upon the conscience. He would occasionally attempt it, and do it impressively, and leave in the hearer's heart, the record of his skill and fidelity. In the close of his sermons, even the most erudite and elevated, there would be some sentences of simple application for which the illiterate would wait with patience and hear with profit. But the general style of his preaching was not adapted to immediate awakening effect. And it is not certain that this circumstance should be made matter of regret; for it is not certain, that it detracts from the power and value of his influence as an instrument in the work of human redemption. It would be an unjust criterion, to measure a man's usefulness by the direct and immediate result of his labors. All may not be employed in those departments of duty which insure instantaneous and visible results. Some must stand at the outposts of Zion, some must be employed in throwing around the Christian interest the bulwarks of solid, impregnable reasoning; some in developing and defending the Christian doctrines. Edwards was doing an essentially important work when preparing his treatises "on the Will," and "on the Affections;" and so was Hall, when exhibiting the malignant elements and disastrous influence of "Modern Infidelity." To do justice to men of this stamp, who think, and speak, and write for the world and posterity, we must bring their efforts and productions to another standard. Hall's merits and claims as a preacher rest to but a small extent upon the direct and popular efficacy of his labors. His efforts it is admitted were not remarkable for this. Indeed he was not,

strictly speaking, a *popular* preacher. He could not, like Whitefield, rouse and sway the multitude. He was too refined for the multitude, too lofty; he was immeasurably above them. Hall was fitted to operate upon clear and cultivated minds; minds, that could measure and appreciate his worth. Here we rest his claims to the character of an efficacious minister of the word of God. He was an instrument that could penetrate and work the diamond; that could prepare pearls for the adornment of the heavenly Jerusalem. The impression being upon such materials, would be durable, diffusive, glorious. How was it made? It was made by overwhelming exhibitions of truth, by holding forth, illustrating and impressing the great facts and features of the Christian system. Hall, as would seem, loved to grasp and wield subjects in mass, large and luminous, it may be added, like the sun diffusing warmth, life, and attraction. He would soar high and range brilliantly among the "heavenly things." By a strong congeniality he would fix and dilate upon the thrilling scenes and disclosures of revelation, and his soul would kindle and enlarge as though it were about to take in the whole vast amplitude of the subject. His mind, naturally towering and expansive, was at home on these grand and glorious themes. They were in congenial hands, and they were worthily treated. Sometimes the great and wonderful things of God's revealing suffer contraction, obscurity and debasement, by an incompetent exhibition. But no detriment accrued when Hall undertook to illustrate and proclaim them. It was the reverse of this. He would impart to them the majestic properties of his own genius, and pour around them the strong light of his own intellect; so that they would stand before the minds of others, not in exaggerated dimension, for this could not be, but in commanding, arresting greatness. Along with the amplitude and power of the exhibition, there went the embellishment of a vivid imagination—the harmony of flowing periods, the attraction, in short, of a warm and winning eloquence. It is plain to see that the effect of efforts of this high and brilliant character, in many cases, would be intensely and pleasurable exciting, and elevating; but not thoroughly practical and religious. There is a class of persons who would hear, not for the truth or instruction, but for the eloquence. They were cultivated, but careless, skeptical men. They would go to the place where Hall was to preach, very much as they would go to a the-



atrical exhibition; or to hear a distinguished orator in parliament. Their object would be entertainment—pleasing, admiring delight in beholding the exertion and product of giant powers. It is true, that though there in obedience to an unhallowed impulse, they might be met and penetrated by the truth they despised, eloquently exhibited by the preacher, and irresistibly applied by the power of the Holy Spirit, and he who went to be pleased, would go home oppressed with conviction, to plead in prayer for mercy; and thus what began in curiosity would end in redemption. But where the effect was mainly admiration, as doubtless was most common in hearers of this class, we may not pronounce the result wholly useless. Religion so nobly exhibited, so luminously set forth in all the grandeur of her interests, and dread solemnity of her destinies, and listened to by minds that could appreciate these considerations, and range onward in the line of such prospects, would gradually come to be regarded as a living and imperative reality—to be neglected if they chose, but neglected at their peril. They would feel that there was a soul on trial, a stake for eternity.—The reasoning could not be escaped—the eloquence unheeded—the persuasion unfelt.

There is another class upon whom Hall's style and talents as a preacher were adapted to operate beneficially. We refer to men of taste and culture, who have been so unfortunate as to contemplate religion chiefly in slovenly and degrading alliances, narrowed by ignorance and defiled and depressed by classical impurities. Hence she became associated in their minds, unjustly indeed, but really, with these depressing and dishonoring appendages, and their conviction of her merits was pregnant with disgust. But when they looked at another delineation, and heard another voice in her advocacy, eloquent like Hall's, and beheld her in her true aspect of beauty and majesty, they would be likely to receive and cherish other sentiments in regard to her—sentiments of admiration and respect, if not of adoration and obedience.

While therefore it is readily conceded, that the preaching of Hall was not adapted to immediate results of conviction and conversion, a claim for wide and great usefulness and efficiency as a minister of the word is insisted on in his behalf. The character of his performances was signally adapted, (and it is a quality of which but few are capable,) to arrest thinking minds to the truths of revelation; to pro-

duce respect for those truths, and often slow working conviction of their heavenly origin and consequent verity, and in the end, by the Spirit's aid, submission to the claims and government of God, and powerful devotion to the interests of his cause on earth.

The influence of Hall upon the style of pulpit eloquence is worthy a place in our estimate of him as a preacher. It is believed that it will be a happy influence, operating to elevate and refine, without any compromise of point and plainness; securing the correction of faults, which wherever found, must necessarily abate the force and blunt the edge of truth. We do not hold up Hall, nor would we any other man, as a model in preaching; but simply proceed upon the ground, that excellences may be looked at, and admired with benefit. The influence of Hall will be unquestionably valuable in improving the diction of the pulpit. In his own performances he has struck happily upon a medium between an entire abandonment of the technical language of theology, which would be attended with inconvenience, also with evident hazard to the interests and stability of truth, and that lavish and crowded employment of it, which operates upon many minds as a perplexity and repulsion. Hall uses it so far as definiteness and brevity of statement require, and no further. It is not unfrequently used, as all other fixed and familiar terms are liable to be, as an apology for ideas. The pulpit needs amelioration here. To achieve it, we say, amongst other things, let Hall be studied, his example and precepts followed, and the result will be propitious; the gospel will gain new power. There is another and kindred particular, which may be noticed in this connection, viz. the employment of Scripture phraseology. Sometimes it is brought in unsuitably and clumsily, creating disgust, instead of pleasure and profit. Hall uses it invariably with a singular delicacy and judgment; by his masterly management, making it subserve the purposes of beauty and of devotional excitement and impression. His quotations also from Scripture are admirably appropriate—never dragged in, never accumulated ostentatiously and inaptly, as is sometimes done by persons who seem to compute the strength of an argument and the chance of conviction by the pile of texts adduced. Hall is more sparing in his quotations from Scripture, but always to the point. He judged undoubtedly that one arrow well directed, was better than a hundred destitute of sharpness and thrown at

random. In the written argument, in his public appeal, the inspired quotation is not only convincing, but beautiful; beautiful in itself, beautiful for its appropriateness, "an apple of gold in a picture of silver." It has at once all the grace of a classical allusion, and all the force of a saying of God.

The example of Hall, we are persuaded, will be favorable to simplicity in the structure and style of sermons. It is not pretended that Hall was like Burder, who brought down truth in luminous and pungent application to the humblest minds. Hall was great, and his was the simplicity of greatness. He was polished, elevated, not unfrequently sublime, but always clear, natural and easy. It was at once the tread of a giant, and the artless gait of a child. There is a remarkable simplicity and transparency in the plan of Mr. Hall's sermons. He presents us with no intricate, involved or ramified processes of thought. There is nothing at first view to excite wonder at the man's reach and profoundness. The outline of the piece we find, as we glance over it, is plain and obvious; such, we imagine, as any one could have formed. The topics presented are few, and not remarkably original and striking. But the filling up, is rich in instruction, splendid in imagery, eloquent in its whole mass and texture. Some men exhaust all their strength and ingenuity upon the plan of a discourse, in order to show something smart and startling. Vain labor, for it is true of a discourse as of a man, that the strength and beauty lie not in the bones, but in the muscles, the sinews, the soul; in the dressing without, and the spirit within. Others ruin themselves by a passion for metaphysical subtleties and niceties; they split and attenuate their ideas, till they are as meagre as the kine which portended Egypt's famine. Hall did not so; he was a metaphysician of singular acuteness. But he did not follow into the *desert* the leadings of this science, nor suffer it to arrest and wither the verdant growth of his mind. In his preaching, Hall gave truth a body and fullness. He clothed it with such clearness of illustration, that it stood forth to the hearer's apprehension, a living and momentous reality. All do not cultivate the ability to do this. It would be well for their usefulness if they did. Many take an opposite course, and depend for success upon the reiterated assertion of naked doctrine or fact—such, for instance, as the doctrine, or its dry demonstration, that man is a sinner, and that he must repent or be lost. The doctrine is true and important, and

must be propounded prominently, and brought home to the conscience with unshrinking application. But the error is in bare assertions, and accumulated repetitions, in insisting perpetually upon the ultimate result, without the intermediate convictions. This is a mistake in preaching by no means uncommon. The naked obligation of immediate repentance, submission on the spot, is urged inordinately—urged inefficaciously, because it is not backed by a pressing mass of well illustrated truth. Mere hortation will not move the mind, particularly the reflecting mind; there must be a *solid* substratum of truth, furnishing an immovable basis on which to rest the lever of persuasion, then we may raise the sordid spirit from earth and earthliness to God and heaven. Hall always laid firm this bottom. He would not stand on sand, he would not stand in mud. He put down rock. Truth was that rock. He made others see, that truth is a rock, which, penitently built upon, would be a munition of safety, but rejected, scorned, would fall upon the transgressor and grind him to powder.

The fame and success of Hall as an extemporaneous preacher are not without their instruction and influence. He invariably preached extemporaneously, that is, he did not in any case of preparation wholly commit his matter to paper. He regarded the labor of writing sermons an intolerable drudgery. In this particular we should not commend his opinion for adoption, nor his example for imitation. He did as he was obliged to do. His disease demanded a tribute of agony for every line he wrote. But those who can, should write. The true doctrine for common minds on this subject unquestionably is, that sermons be, in part, carefully written out, and in part studied, but extemporaneous as to language and illustration. Let both be carried on together, and the labor and care of writing will contribute to the order and compactness of the extemporaneous effort—the extemporaneous effort will contribute to the simplicity and ease of the written production. We are aware that sometimes a heavy charge is brought against the whole indiscriminate mass of written sermons, as necessarily and of course prosing and dull; and that though a minister may improve his style and logic by writing sermons, yet it is at the expense of immortal souls. We believe no such thing. A sermon carefully written, may be lively in interest, luminous in instruction, glowing with spirit and with feeling, pointed and piercing to



the heart. The same is true of unwritten sermons. They may have every element of light and warmth and efficacy. None can doubt this, who has heard of the success of Hall. Both are good, and both should be produced.

There are some, however, who decline the cultivation of extemporaneous eloquence, because they suppose there is inherent in them an unconquerable inaptitude to the exercise. They have made attempts, perhaps, which issued inauspiciously, and they resolve henceforth to cleave stedfastly to the pen. Let the history of Hall speak in this place, and on this point. How was it with him? His wonderful ability, power, eloquence, in extemporaneous speaking are well known. Was there a peculiar innate facility to this power and art in his case? Very far from it. There was at first difficulties and humiliating failures. His biographer gives an account of two entire failures in succession, of a most mortifying character. We will not stop to relate them, though they are peculiarly instructive, occurring, as they do, in such a man as Hall, and in precedence of a career so splendid. They show us that a man may blunder without being a dunce, and they should contribute to remove that sensitive fear of hesitancy and failure, which operates to keep utterly in silence and in the background many, who, if they would begin resolutely, and bring out and mature this talent, would be qualified by it to do incomparably more good in the world than they can possibly do by a slavish bondage to the pen. The excuse often given, "It comes hard, we can only catch and stammer," is wholly unsound and inadequate. It is, rather, a motive to try; to begin and persist. It is said of a distinguished extemporaneous speaker in England, that he actually twisted off a portion of the buttons from the breast of his coat, in the labor and agony of one or two of his introductory attempts at unpremeditated utterance. He persisted and triumphed. A clergyman of this country thought and preached only through his pen. He supposed it impracticable for him to utter with any propriety or decency a sentence which he had not carefully cogitated and recorded. He heard at a certain time a self-educated minister deliver a sermon extemporaneously, with unembarrassed freedom, a warm interest, and a visible effect. He resolved to go and do likewise; he made the attempt, and now the fame of his eloquence is in all the churches; the record of his usefulness, we believe, is on high. The writer recollects hearing

a gentleman, distinguished for forensic eloquence, remark, that he rarely ever knew an individual, who at first spoke with great fluency and ease, afterwards to become remarkable for power, cogency and effect, but the reverse he had often seen. The fact involved in this testimony is easily explained. Incipient difficulty imposes the necessity of exertion. The consequence frequently is, growth in greatness. There is a faltering beginning, but a noble conclusion; disgrace at the outset, but glory in the result. The diffident, and timorous, and hesitating, should consider these facts and examples, and be incited to effort, and acquire every possible means and facility of influence and of good.

We have spoken of Hall as an extemporaneous preacher. Let there be no misunderstanding of his practice, nor of the process by which he rose to that eminence. The term extemporaneous is used, as opposed to writing in full. Though Hall never wrote in full, yet he did not preach without careful preparation, occasionally elaborate and minute. His common practice for some years, was merely "to trace out the grand divisions of thought, with the most prominent lines of demarkation." This was his slightest preparation. At other times he would sketch the train of thought or argument under the respective main divisions; again, he would interweave much of the detail, "selecting and classifying the illustrations, images and subordinate proofs;" and in those instances where the force of an argument or the probable success of a general application would mainly depend upon the language even that was selected and appropriated, sometimes to the precise collocation of the words. What others would write on paper, Hall wrote on his mind. He could create and preserve within large and distinct masses of brilliant and worded thought, and he could, at pleasure, pronounce it to the world with an overpowering effect. This faculty of mental composition gave Hall a singular and successful advantage as a thinker, a speaker, and a writer. There was a mine within richer and more exhaustless than the silver caverns of Potosi. The mass thrown out was succeeded by a vein of purer element and more brilliant material. Imparting did not impoverish, but augmented the stores of mental wealth within.

We have here suggested to us, matter for the most unfeigned regret, that so large a proportion of the rich product of Hall's mind has vanished in air. Paragraphs, pages,

volumes even, that would have delighted and benefited the world and posterity were once spoken, heard *and perished*; and there were other volumes of original thought, that were neither uttered nor written. "I am persuaded," says his biographer, "that if he could have *instantly* impressed his trains of thought upon paper, with the incorporated words, and in the living spirit in which they were conceived, hundreds if not thousands of passages would have been preserved, as chaste and polished in diction, as elastic and energetic in tone, as can be presented from any of his works." It was not for want of solicitation that Hall committed so little to paper. He was often urged by his friends and admirers to employ his powers more in finished written composition. But no persuasion or entreaty was adequate to overcome the deep seated, impassioned reluctance, which he cherished to this exercise. A principal cause of this invincible reluctance was the agonizing disease which he carried with him through life. The disease was an internal affection, which, for a considerable portion of the time, would not allow him to sit erect, and on account of which he was not able for more than twenty years to pass a whole night in bed. His prevalent position in seasons of pain was reclining upon three chairs. "With this internal apparatus of torture," as a friend of his calls it, it is not to be wondered at that he did not write more; it is rather surprising that he wrote so much, when we consider that writing invariably induced excruciating pain. His only relief was in stimulants, such as opium, smoking tobacco, and tea. Of the first, he took through life incredible quantities. On one occasion toward the close of his life, we are told, his physician continued administering, at very short intervals, the doses of his anodyne, until he had given him no less than one hundred and twenty-five grains of solid opium, equal to more than three thousand drops of laudanum. In the use of other stimulants he was equally intemperate. He would smoke incessantly, when he lay down and when he rose up, in the house and by the way. Of tea, he confessed to a friend "the taking of thirty cups in an afternoon, his method being to visit four families and drink seven or eight cups at each." In Mr. Hall's case we find *some* apology for these excesses in the fact, that it was regarded as a means of blunting the edge of his agony, and making tolerable his earthly existence. We see at once, how the pains of his merciless malady, and the constant attentions

it demanded, prevented him from committing his "mental product" to paper. It is a wonder that it did not prevent his thinking. It took him, for instance, seven weeks to write out, after he had delivered it, his celebrated sermon on Infidelity, though when he commenced, the whole stood with distinctness in his mind, a perfected and polished mass of eloquence. He could put down but short paragraphs at a time, and some of it he wrote whilst extended at full length on the floor; so great was the difficulty and agony of writing as a mere manual exercise—and yet he would accept of no assistance.

Another thing, which operated to diminish the quantity of his written productions, was the extreme delicacy and even fastidiousness of his taste. He tells us that he was embarrassed with a difficulty of being pleased which amounted to a mental disease. In another place he says, "I am tormented with the desire of writing better than I can." He often speaks of his own productions in the most vehement terms of reproach. He assigns as a reason for a sermon's not appearing sooner, "an almost uninterrupted struggle of painful discouragement, arising from its appearing so contemptible under his hands." An oration which he delivered at the funeral of Dr. Ryland, and which others admired, he calls "a wretched piece of inanity, which it is his unalterable resolution never to print." To a solicitation to write an article for a review, he replies, "There is no kind of literary exertion to which I have an equal aversion by many degrees, and were such things determined by choice, it is my deliberate opinion, that I should prefer going out of the world by any tolerable mode of death, rather than incur the necessity of writing three or four articles a year." This declaration is doubtless exaggerated, and on other accounts unjustifiable; but it gives us a vivid idea of the scrupulous care and labor with which he wrote; a care and labor, which, for any purpose, he dreaded to encounter. This peculiar niceness of taste, this keen and delicate perception of beauty and deformity in composition, account, in part, for the extreme slowness with which he finished any thing for the press. "Writing," says his biographer, "improving, rejecting the improvement, seeking another, rejecting it, recasting whole sentences and pages; often recurring precisely to the original phrasology, and still after repenting, when it was too late, that he had not done so." And here we have



the secret of the force and beauty of his composition. It was the "labor limæ"—the struggling after, and pressing up towards a point which could not be so easily reached. In no other way can a powerful and finished writer be made. If any one does only what he can easily do—puts down his first thoughts and is satisfied with them, he will make no advance, and attain no eminence. But if he raises the standard high, above the power of a ready or even a possible accomplishment, and then marshals and consolidates his energies, and expends them upon the highest endeavors, he will do better, and come nearer the mark at every attempt. So Hall toiled and rose, until as a writer he received the concurrent approbation of all parties—friends and foes. "There is a living writer," says Dugald Stewart, "who combines the beauties of Johnson, Addison and Burke, without their imperfections. It is a dissenting minister of Cambridge, the Rev. Robert Hall. Whoever wishes to see the English language in its perfection, must read his writings." An ardent literary opponent, speaking of some of Mr. Hall's principal literary efforts, says, "They are wonderful compositions; wonderful both for the scale and variety of the powers they display, a head so metaphysical, seeming to have little in common with an imagination so glowing, declamation so impassioned with wisdom so practical, touches of pathos so tender with such caustic irony, such bold invective, such spirit-stirring encouragement to heroic deeds—and all conveyed in language worthy to be the vehicle of such diverse thoughts, precise or luxuriant, stern or playful—that most rare but most eloquent of all kinds of speech, the masculine mother tongue of an able man, which education has chastened but not killed, constructed after no model of which we are aware, more massive than Addison, more easy and unconstrained than Johnson, more sober than Burke. Such are the features of Hall's deliberate compositions, and such is our willing testimony to their worth." It is true, as stated above. Hall followed no leader, copied no model, bowed servilely to no magisterial dictation. In maturer years he abhorred the whole business of imitating. He resolved that whatever literary reputation he might acquire, should be his own. When reminded on a certain occasion that he was once for a short time an imitator of Dr. Johnson, he replied, "Yes, sir: I aped Johnson, and I preached Johnson, and I am afraid with little more of evangelical sentiment than is to be found in his

essays : but it was youthful folly, and it was very great folly. I might as well have attempted to dance a hornpipe in the cumbrous costume of Gog and Magog. My puny thoughts could not sustain the load of words in which I attempted to clothe them."

Hall's claims are very considerable to originality as a writer—to originality not in the sense of something odd, erring, eccentric ; but in a high and sober sense. Some perhaps will resist this claim with instant thought and earnestness, merely because there is nothing singularly wild and bold in Hall's productions, nothing of startling extravagance and daring. A species of deception is not unfrequently practised upon us by writers. The peculiar properties of their style lead us directly, and insensibly perhaps, to an overestimate of their merits. We discover originality. We are pleased ; we admire ; but upon a close examination, we find, that it is in the language, the expression, only. The thought is a common one. It has been clothed in words and printed innumerable times ; but never before did it appear in just *such* a costume. In the productions of the author of "Natural History of Enthusiasm," there are examples of what we have attempted to describe. There is indeed often originality of thought and expression combined, but often originality only in the language. The consequence is, a tendency, at first, to overestimate the merits of the writer, and on the other hand to attach too low a value to writings which present the simplicity and lucidness of style which we find in the pages of James Douglas, and Hall. The thoughts of Hall are often profound and new, when the language is so calm and clear, that we look for nothing, and even suppose there is nothing in any way remarkable. With a considerable class of readers then, Hall suffers from the very purity and excellence of his style. They see nothing peculiarly attractive, because there is nothing swollen, deformed. Hall's style is characterized by a chaste and even simplicity. It does not arrest attention by the predominance of some one quality. It flows on, for the most part, in a smooth and equable stream. It does not abound, so much as the style of some others, in striking, characteristic passages. The beauty and power are not chiefly concentrated in spots, but spread brightly over the whole mass. The consequence is we are not occasionally startled and electrified by this and that masterly stroke with intervening paragraphs of dullness.

We are borne evenly forward on a steady current, inhaling, as we advance, both instruction and delight. If a writer is light and sparkling, his merit lying chiefly in the music of his periods, we have the best opinion of him upon reading but little. By prolonging our perusal, we become wearied, perhaps disgusted. The reverse is true in the case of Hall. In order to feel fully his attraction and power, it is necessary to read large and connected portions; and the more we read, the more we admire. The more we read carefully, the more originality, profoundness and power of thought and felicity of expression we discover. Hall understood where to stop in the work of embellishment. He never burdened his periods with ornament. There is no excess of beauty. There is no appearance of aiming at this as an end. His ornaments are chaste, pleasing and soberly used. The aspect indeed is often bright and splendid, but not dazzling, not encumbered with finish and finery. This chasteness and soberness of embellishment appears more remarkable in Hall, when we take into view his wonderful imagination. It was singularly vivid, creative and towering. It seemed to know no limits. It was a world of itself. He, as well as Burke, could lay "all nature under tribute and collect riches from every scene of the creation, and every walk of art." But this faculty so immense in its possible range, so fruitful in noble and exquisite images, was under the control of a sound judgment and accurate taste. Thus guided and restrained, it rendered a valuable service in adorning the rich and luminous pages of this extraordinary writer.

Another excellency in Hall's style, is his general freedom from pomp and stateliness. We say *general* freedom, for there are some exceptions in his earlier productions. We shall not stop to point them out. They are faults which very commonly belong to writers of warmth and merit in their greener years. The man who is always sober and accurate at thirty, will inevitably be dull and frosty at fifty. Hall's temperament was peculiarly ardent—his soul was intensely charged with passion. To this are to be attributed both his faults and excellencies as a writer. Feeling was the moving force, and when strongly excited he was borne beyond the bounds of strict truth and propriety. But ordinarily the intensity of his emotions vivified and exalted his intellectual powers, producing strength without extravagance of conception and language. There are no inflations, no bombast, no laying

out for effect in the mere choice and adjustment of words. There is no mannerism, no uniform and measured movement. The style is varied and easy, though he himself often loathed and abhorred it for its stiffness. It is at once polished and plain, (classical and intelligible,) majestic and simple. There is no ambitious straining for something lofty and astounding. While he wrote with effort, there is no *appearance* of effort. He used the lamp without leaving any smell of the oil. When he ranged the highest, it seemed an easy and spontaneous soaring. With Foster it is the reverse: there is an appearance of effort, whether there was in reality or not, and the effort seems to have been expended very considerably upon the language. Sentences so complicated, and filled with words so singularly used, could not have been formed without design and exertion. Foster's style then stands in contrast with Hall's. Whilst Hall is plain, simple, natural, Foster is involved and obscure. There is great strength, compactness, originality, and often beauty. But as he toiled in forming his periods, we have to toil in understanding them. The idea is far beneath; we have to knit the brow and labor for it, with this consolation however in the end, of finding that it was worth laboring for. Hall gives us new and rich thoughts without exacting of us the toil of an inquisition. Foster's style is so constructed, that the language takes our attention. Words are used in such novel combinations, that we stop to look and perhaps to admire the ingenuity and mastery of the man. Hall's style is so constructed, that we do not think of it—we hardly see it—it is like a transparent medium—we look right through it, the vision terminating upon the idea.

Another writer somewhat kindred to Foster, and standing in contrast with Hall, is Chalmers. His pages reveal pomp and stateliness in their perfection. What Hall commonly does, Chalmers rarely ever does—that is, say a thing with simplicity. There is brought in a cumbersome mass of words, and were not his ideas great and strong, they would be broken down and buried under the ponderous verbiage which is thrown about them. With Hall words are so adroitly used, that they seem as wings to his ideas. With Chalmers they often seem a weight and oppression. His ideas are ascendant not by the help, but in spite of his language. Hall always seems to be making progress. He is logical, has a plan, and seems to move forward step by step



to its accomplishment. Chalmers lingers, repeats, amplifies. His sermons generally contain but one or two ideas apiece, and yet they are full of instruction and of vivid conception. The structure is massive, the movement grand and gigantic. Around the one focus his mind ranges, and accumulates and concentrates upon it, light and heat from the whole field of vision and feeling. Though he riots in his resources and throws in the riches of his intellect and fancy with such heaped profusion, yet there seems to be nothing we can spare—all is made to bear with directness and intensity upon the announced design. There is a resemblance in the two writers in this respect; they both have an object which they keep prominently in sight. The difference is, that Hall places the mark at the end, and moves *towards* it. Chalmers places it in the middle, and moves *round* it.

There is a great deal of writing which has no aim nor order, nor consecutiveness. It is pretty and pleasing, sometimes powerful. But the author has no logic in his mind; of course, he transfers none to his pages. The object is to make sentences, not a discourse. The whole energy of the man's soul is exhausted upon sentences. They sparkle with bright imagery; they thrill by felicitous expression; they touch the heart by strokes of pathos—but there is no bond of union, no common bearing upon a useful result, no studied adjustment to a practical issue. Those who write sentences instead of pieces, most generally write extravagantly. The extravagance is not occasional, but a current—for in the anxiety to have every sentence tell, every sentence is overwrought. Writers of this description would unquestionably find advantages in studying the pages of Hall. Indeed, all who have marked excesses, deforming prominences, on the otherwise beautiful aspect of their style, would reap benefit and correction from docile attention to the chaste productions of our author. Hall differs, we think, in respect to influence, from almost all other writers of eminence. We can say of him what can be said of few others, that he is a safe object of study and admiration,—and it is on account of the even, unambitious, and yet manly attributes of his style. Where there are palpable faults in a writer, combined with strokes of great power and beauty, there is always hazard in a pleased and prolonged contact with his pages. There will be imitation; and it generally happens that what is deformed and vicious is reflected most luminously in the copy. If you

read Johnson with frequency and admiration, you will soon find yourself on stilts. If you imbue your soul with Addison, beautiful and faultless as he is, you will be likely to move prettily, but with a wearisome tameness. If you hang over the pages of Chalmers with delight and wonder, you will be found, perhaps, stringing together, with ayes and ands, enormous and laboring paragraphs; or, it may be, to use a very homely figure, puffing off bladders of nonsense. Many have prostrated their literary reputation by foolishly seizing upon and appropriating the vitiosities of some admired and stately genius. It is good advice which one gives—"Let the stripling beware how he meddles with Saul's armor. Let him remember that Hercules must carry his own club, and Jupiter launch his own thunders, and let him be sure that he has attained to six cubits and a span, before he ventures to make the staff of his spear of a weaver's beam." Hall may be handled without any hazard of the deforming contagion. It was a propitious Providence which procured such pages for such a time. We are an extravagant generation. Hall stands up in mildness, elegance and purity, to sober and restrain us. Let his voice be heard, his elegance be felt. Let the mind be imbued with his matured and polished productions, and benefit unmingled with injury, will be the result. He will refine and strengthen by his masculine and chastened beauty. He will hurt no one by constraining to a ludicrous and degrading imitation.

It was our intention, in this review, to have presented analyses of some of the more celebrated productions of Mr. Hall, accompanied with extracts as specimens of his style. But it would be inexcusable to occupy space in addition, for the accomplishment of this design. We can only allude to a few of the more prominent productions of his pen; and even this allusion is hardly necessary, for who is not familiar with the writings of Robert Hall?

His first public efforts were in the cause of civil liberty. His treatise on "Christianity consistent with a love of Freedom," published in 1791, and his "Apology for the Freedom of the Press," published in 1793, are masterly pieces, though written when he was on the green side of thirty. His mind was powerfully excited, for all the elements of society were agitated, and all the intensity of human passion was awakened. The occurrence of the French revolution had given an impulse to public feeling and inquiry, which threatened to bear

down and sweep away in its progress all, in government, that had been regarded as prescriptive and immovable. In the very eloquent and stirring language of one of these pamphlets,

“The empire of darkness and of despotism has been smitten with a stroke which has sounded through the universe. When we see whole kingdoms, after reposing for centuries on the lap of their rulers, start from their slumber, the dignity of man rising up from depression, and tyrants trembling on their thrones, who can remain entirely indifferent, or fail to turn his eye towards a theatre so august and extraordinary! These are a kind of throes and struggles of nature to which it would be a sullenness to refuse our sympathy. Old foundations are breaking up; new edifices are rearing. Institutions which have been long held in veneration as the most sublime refinements of human wisdom and policy, which age hath cemented and confirmed, which power hath supported, which eloquence hath conspired to embellish and opulence to enrich, are falling fast into decay. New prospects are opening on every side, of such amazing variety and extent as to stretch further than the eye of the most enlightened observer can reach.”

Both these treatises contain specimens of great eloquence and power. A person who detested the principles advanced in the *Apology*, said of it, however, “If a book must be praised at all events for being well written, this ought to be praised.” It met an unprecedented popularity from the advocates of political reform, and was noticed and felt by all, and undoubtedly has contributed very considerably to that prevalence of liberal principles in government, which occurred soon after the decease of the lamented author. There were some things, however, about each of these treatises which, at a subsequent period, he deeply regretted. It has been said that he changed his political principles in the latter part of his life. This he himself denied solemnly and entirely. He declared that “the effect of increasing years was to augment, if possible, his attachment to the principles of civil and religious liberty,” which he had so effectively advocated. But though Hall continued to adhere to the principles maintained in his political works, he disapproved of much of the spirit he had manifested in defending them. His “*Christianity consistent with a love of Freedom*,” for instance, was written in a tempest of feeling, and in some parts with an acerbity of temper, and a keenness and profusion of invective and satire, which his maturer judgment

so decisively condemned, that he obstinately prohibited its republication; with how little success, however, may be learned from the fact, that copies were long after found, with a title page, dated 1791, and with a water mark on the paper, giving the date of 1818. Hall at this time had wholly withdrawn from all political discussion, and no solicitation could induce him again to enlist. Not unlikely he thought, as did a distinguished clergyman of our own country, who once put out his bark perilously on this "stormy element,"—when asked by a friend the reason of his subsequent retirement and quietness, said in reply, "Politics is like the variolous contagion, no man catches it a second time."

Perhaps none of Hall's productions acquired for him a more extensive and deserved celebrity, than his sermon on "Modern Infidelity considered with respect to its Influence on Society." It was directed against the vaunted and ferocious atheism of France, which first desolated all that was fair at home, and then rushing forth with unbridled impetuosity into other countries, threatened for a time the subversion of the entire social fabric of the world. This effort of Hall, with God's blessing, was a blow which in England stunned, if it did not prostrate the monster. The sermon is a fine specimen of keen analysis, delicate discrimination, deep and incontrovertible philosophy, and pure religion, all impregnated with the noblest feeling, and poured forth in the melody and splendor of an inimitable eloquence. He shows with a sunbeam's clearness, that "atheism subverts the whole foundation and destroys the very substance of morals," that "it is a soil prolific in great crimes, and barren of great and sublime virtues," and that it "tends directly to the destruction of moral taste."—For instance, how the single conception of Deity which the atheist blots out, is adapted to refine and expand and exalt the soul. "It has this peculiar property," says our author, "that, as it admits of no substitute, so it is capable of continual growth and enlargement. God himself is immutable; but our conception of his character is continually receiving fresh accessions—is continually growing more extended and refulgent, by having transferred to it new elements of beauty and goodness; by attracting to itself as a centre whatever bears the impress of dignity, order or happiness. It borrows splendor from all that is fair, subordinates to itself all that is great, and sits enthroned on



the riches of the universe." But atheism obliterates every worthy sentiment, and nourishes in the heart, and raises to a malignant control, ungovernable ferocity and unbridled licentiousness. Perhaps I exaggerate the merits of this performance, but I am constrained to class it among the brightest monuments of human genius. The sudden demise of the princess Charlotte, in 1817, called forth manifold tributes of clerical eulogy and condolence. It was an event which moved simultaneously and powerfully the sympathies of a whole empire. "The sight of such elaborate preparations for happiness rendered abortive, of a majestic fabric so proudly seated, and exquisitely adorned, in a moment overturned, disturbed the imagination like a convulsion of nature, and diffused a feeling of insecurity and terror, as though nothing remained on which we could repose with confidence." Of the numerous and eloquent discourses on that melancholy occasion, that of Hall from which we just quoted, assumed and held an undisputed pre-eminence of merit. One of his largest and most elaborate works is his treatise on "Terms of Communion." To say nothing of the argumentative ability, it is adorned with frequent touches of his exquisite taste and gorgeous imagination. As a specimen of beauty and skill in sketching character, we will present the contrast our author drew between Fletcher of Madeley, and David Brainerd of our own country.

"The Life of Fletcher, of Madeley, affords in some respects a parallel, in others a contrast, to that of Brainerd: and it is curious to observe how the influence of natural temperament varies the exhibition of the same principles. With a considerable difference in their religious views, the same zeal, the same spirituality of mind, the same contempt of the world, is conspicuous in the character of each. But the lively imagination, the sanguine complexion of Fletcher permits him to triumph and exult in the consolatory truths and prospects of religion. He is a seraph who burns with the ardors of divine love; and spurning the fetters of mortality, he almost habitually seems to have anticipated the rapture of the beatific vision. Brainerd, oppressed with a constitutional melancholy, is chiefly occupied with the thoughts of his pollutions and defects in the eyes of Infinite Purity. His is a mourning and conflicting piety, imbued with the spirit of self-abasement, breathing itself forth in 'groanings which cannot be uttered;' always dissatisfied with itself, always toiling in pursuit of a purity and perfection unattainable by mortals. The mind of Fletcher was habitually brightened with gratitude and

joy for what he had attained ; Brainerd was actuated with a restless solicitude for further acquisitions. If Fletcher soared to all the heights, it may be affirmed with equal truth that Brainerd sounded all the depths of Christian piety ; and while the former was regaling himself with fruit from the tree of life, the latter, on the waves of an impetuous sea, was ‘doing business in the mighty waters.’”

We love to contemplate Hall as a scholar, a philosopher, an eloquent speaker, and an accomplished writer ; but with far greater pleasure do we contemplate him as a meek and devoted follower of Jesus Christ. Herein lie his true dignity and greatness. Here rests the certain perpetuity of his fame. “The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.” How admirable the spectacle, of a mind rich, powerful, like Hall’s, subdued and moulded by the spirit, and consecrated to the interests, of Christianity. It is sometimes said, and said to depreciate and degrade, that the gospel gathers its adherents from the ranks of weak, flexible, undisciplined spirits. And so it is to a considerable extent. “Not many mighty, not many noble.” God has chosen the poor of this world, poor in lowliness and scantiness of mind ; but they have an eternity to grow in, and God will educate them ; his kingdom will be the school, his attributes and works the expanding themes of their study, and immensity the compass of their range. Who knows, but hereafter, by a single bound, they will transcend immeasurably all that the man of proud and profane cultivation ever has reached in this world, or ever will in that which is to come. By this peculiarity of selection, God evidently intends to lay low and grievously humiliate the vaunting loftiness of man, and make him at last to understand that he is very little before the infinitude of his Creator.

The gospel is a reversing scheme. “The first shall be last.” Casting down the high, lifting up the low. Hell will mournfully abound in talent. It is painful to see how the great minds of the world treat the gospel of Christ—passing by it with cold neglect, as though it were a shallow and vulgar thing. It is a wonder, that in the exercise of their profoundness and sagacity, they do not more frequently find out, that the gospel is a rich store-house of wisdom and of moral beauty and grandeur, striking in its facts, luminous in its instruction, perfect in its philosophy, moving in its eloquence. It is a wonder that the mere practical power of the

gospel as an instrument of reformation, achieving, in brief spaces, the most notable and beneficent changes, does not arrest their attention. It does not. Truth and honesty compel us to record the declaration, that the mass of great minds in the world neglect the gospel of Christ, they disregard the "great salvation." But there are exceptions—bright spots and verdant, on a vast tract of desert and darkness. God shows the power of the gospel in its mastery of some of the mightiest minds. Hall is an instance. In him Christianity had a rich and noble trophy. In him she signally illustrated her efficiency over rebellious and gigantic talent. Hall was naturally confident, haughty, self-willed. He had a pride of intellect and impetuosity of feeling, which often impelled him on rapidly and recklessly. He seemed to delight in audacity of range and speculation. He loved to tread where others trembled. And many trembled for him. It was the prayer of the discerning Andrew Fuller, "The Lord keep that young man." Again: "I feel much for him, the Lord keep him in the path of truth and righteousness." The Lord did keep him. His gospel and Spirit were mighty to save him. He was curbed, and bowed submissive and docile at the feet of Jesus. Constitutionally bold, vehement, impatient of contradiction as he was, Christianity availed to allay the fiery element of his temper, and soften him to gentleness. It is easy to see that his deep mind might have been a volcano, in its angry workings, preparing and sending out torrents of blasting sentiment and passion. But the Spirit of Jesus touched that mighty intensity, and it became the intensity of love, that ardor became the ardor of benevolence—that power, a power to bless. Hall sought not his own. He exhibited his greatness in not reaching after great things for himself. He was willing to be unknown, and move in a small sphere, though he had a mind that could speak to a world. He shunned ostentation, he dreaded display—he could endure no lifting up to be seen of men. The attempt harrowed and tortured his sensibilities; and here we have the test and the evidence of true benevolence—it is a willingness to do obscure good—on a small scale—in the little circle where Providence has placed us. True the field is the world; but he who cultivates not the lesser field, assuredly does nothing for the greater and sublimer field. Hall did both. He spake, and the humble cottager heard and was instructed. He wrote, and the two hemispheres were reached and blessed.

When we speak of Christianity as availing to restrain the extravagance, and to bring down the proud loftiness of talent—as mellowing, moulding and guiding to a beneficent operation, we wish not to be understood to say or to suppose, that the gospel in accomplishing this in the least depresses or demeans the intellect. Never does it this, but powerfully the opposite. It exalts, enlarges and ennobles. The career and elevation of Hall remind us of this influence, by illustrating its reality and strength. He felt it, and was blessed by it. As an intellectual being, he owed much to Christianity. He was a greater man, mightier in mind, than he would have been if he had not been a believer in the simple and majestic elements of the gospel. He loved that system of moral grandeur and glory. He admired it; he studied it, he fed upon it, and incorporated its light and power into the very essence and attributes of his own soul. The gospel, more than any thing else, nurtured and raised him to that towering stature. He delighted to look out upon the illimitable field of its disclosure, and gaze upon the awful sublimities of its revelation, and kindle and glow with a sympathetic expansion. Rendering praise to the Author of all that is truly excellent in the attainments of our nature, we place upon the noble character of Robert Hall the crown of a Christian faith and practice. We leave him with this glory, an honor that will live and be rising in brightness and worth, when all the records and monuments of a mere worldly fame shall have turned to dust, and passed to an irrecoverable oblivion.

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## ARTICLE V.

## MENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

*Inquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth.* By John Abercrombie, &c. New York : J. & J. Harper.

*The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings.* By J. Abercrombie. J. & J. Harper.

SHALL we conclude that metaphysical inquiry is destined to end in nothingness, because some philosophers have labored to convince themselves that their belief in the existence of body and soul was a delusion? Or shall we believe that the study of man and his thoughts has a skeptical tendency, because some inquirers have rejected faith and demanded demonstration at the outset of their studies, and have therefore closed them in unbelief? Is there no difference, that requires a distinction, between questioning truth for the sake of hearing her testimony from her own mouth, and calling upon her to substantiate her veracity by other testimony? Must our search after knowledge in this department of science, be forever fruitless?

These queries have been suggested by the view which many philosophers of recent date have given of the object of metaphysical inquiry. They seem to regard it as little less than an axiom, that the classification of particular facts so as to form general facts, is the whole business of philosophy. Warned by the mistakes of some of their predecessors who assumed their premises instead of finding them in facts, *they* have thought it the most philosophical, as well as the most safe, to confine their attention within the circle of phenomena. The former launched forth on the ocean of speculation without chart or compass, and suffered shipwreck. The latter have supplied themselves again and again with all the necessary instruments, but they are content not to make the voyage. They affirm that the whole art of navigation consists in ship-building, the laying in of stores, and the procuring of map, chart and compass.

The popular author whose works are placed at the head of this article, is one of that class of philosophers to whom we have alluded. He holds that "the province of human knowledge, is merely to observe facts and trace what their relations or sequences are." p. 19. According to him, "general facts," (or the statement of what is true in regard to a class of phenomena,) are "general principles." p. 88. He does say indeed that "we have a conviction which appears to be original and instinctive of the *general* uniformity of the relations" of facts; "and in this consists our confidence in the regularity of all the operations of nature. But," he remarks, "the powers or principles on which the relations depend, are entirely hidden from us in our present state of being." p. 19. He also says that "we infer the existence of a God from our intuitive belief of causation in nature; but our knowledge of causation as he thinks, is nothing more than a uniform connection of antecedents and consequents." p. 22.

It is no unusual thing to hear writers and speakers on the subjects of politics and theology disclaiming all use and all knowledge of metaphysics. And it were certainly better not to use, than to abuse them. But it appears to us not a little incongruous that those whose object it is to investigate the laws of mind, and to inquire into the grounds of belief, should confine themselves wholly to physiology. If metaphysical *science* be not a dream, and the word *metaphysics* an unmeaning sound, this is a narrow and illiberal view of the object of mental philosophy. The use of language, where language has not been abused by perverse speculations, is generally a very correct index of truth. If the word *metaphysics* is the "sign of an idea," which is not denoted by *physics*, or the "physiology" of Brown, we have an argument in the word itself for the doctrine that metaphysical inquiry is not confined to the observation and classification of facts.

But we have other reasons, which will be thought to have more weight than this one founded on the use of language, for our opinion that Abercrombie has given a partial and inadequate statement of the object of metaphysical inquiry. The philosopher who should confine his attention to the observation of facts, would differ from the mere child in nothing but a more extensive and a more accurate experience. He would have seen more facts, he would have made the

observation of facts a more special object of attention, he would have noticed more carefully the uniform connection of antecedents and consequents. He would thus have more control over nature. Experience would have taught him how to set in train by art a course of events similar to those which had occurred without the exertion of any voluntary power in men to produce them. We would give to empiricism all the praise that is justly her due. And it would be thought by many that we have already ascribed to her the power to do every thing which philosophy could wish. But how great is that power? The utmost that it can accomplish is to teach us the uniform succession of events. It can inform us what facts have been uniformly connected in *time*. Empiricism can show us that a given fact has always been preceded by another fact; but it cannot assure us that the same relation *will* exist hereafter. We may *guess* that it will: and having guessed right many times, we may *guess* that we shall always continue to guess right. But we can have none of that certainty which arises from the least particle of knowledge. True science must be something more and other than an acquaintance with a dead succession of antecedents and consequents. There must be some *efficiency* running through the chain of successive events, distinct from the events, and imperishable. If we cannot discover such a force in nature, the unity of operation in the natural world is broken for us; to-morrow may present to us phenomena altogether new for aught that we can know; and the succeeding day may be surprised by a succession of events entirely different from those of to-morrow; or, in other words, there may be a new world every twenty-four hours. But if empiricism be the true philosophy, there is no such efficiency within the sphere of our knowledge. Dr. Brown was a consistent empiric—so far as it is possible for one to be consistent who undertakes to defend a system which makes no distinction between life and death. He maintains that “immediate invariable *antecedence* is *power*,—the immediate invariable *antecedent* in any sequence is a *cause*,—the immediate invariable *consequent* is the correlative *effect*.” What is there in this notion of power, (which is all that empiricism can give us,) that an atheist would object to? How can we know that there is a God, if mere antecedence is power? If the power of God does not differ from the power of any one of the material things in a series of ante-

cedents and consequents, (and according to Dr. Brown, it does not,) how can we be sure of the existence of that personal Being, who, we believe, *created* the world? Our ideas of power ought to be such that an atheist could not receive them as true and remain an atheist. But if we were atheists we would take refuge in the *physiology* of Dr. Brown as our strong hold. He does not take ground in philosophy so elevated as those who admit that there are forces in nature distinct from the inert masses which they actuate, but that these forces are God. Dr. Abercrombie does not, perhaps, agree fully with Brown respecting the connection of cause and effect. He speaks of a "mysterious agency on which the connection depends." But he coincides with him in regard to the extent of our knowledge and the object of metaphysical inquiry. "Our idea of causation or of power amounts to nothing more," he affirms, "than our knowledge of the fact, that one [of two events] is invariably the antecedent of the other." p. 22. "The object of all *science* is to ascertain the established relations of things, or the tendency of certain events to be uniformly followed by certain other events." p. 24. By comparing the quotations with each other, it will appear that our author means nothing by the word *tendency*, but the observed fact of a uniform connection between the events.

But does the boasted pre-eminence of philosophers consist in more accurate observation and sounder experience? Is it the whole object of philosophy to tell us that we deceive ourselves, when we imagine that we can know more of the laws of our being and the principles of science, than appears to the eye of the common observer? If this be true, one science which has figured much in the world, and which has occasioned many warm disputes and some bloodshed,—the science of mind will soon die out; unless it should be thought a Christian duty among the learned to tell the world from time to time, in some treatise entitled "The Elements of Intellectual Philosophy," that we can know nothing of the nature of mind, that the words *metaphysics*, *power*, *cause*, *effect*, &c., have no distinctive meaning and ought to be discarded from the vocabulary of philosophers. This would be highly conducive to the humility of prying speculative minds, and it would suit well with our republican notions of equality among the learned and the ignorant. But if we do not mistake some "exploded notions," as they



are called, on the subject of metaphysics are about to be revived. There are men in the country who believe that the whole of philosophy does not consist in tracing out a lifeless succession of facts. There is some prospect that metaphysics will survive, at least for a time.

We think no one will deny that we do instinctively seek after something besides phenomena. It is a law of our being to ask, not what is the fact, but why was it so. This curiosity, which belongs to us as men, and which no discipline of philosophy can destroy, will not be satisfied with the "general facts" of the empiric. If a child should ask its father why an apple falls, and the father should tell him that it falls by *gravitation*, and should give the child to understand that he meant nothing more by this term than that *bodies fall*, the child would feel that his father had given him a stone, instead of the bread for which he asked. His curiosity might be checked but could not be satisfied by an echo to his own question. Is it not one principal reason why curiosity becomes torpid in most children after a certain age, and they remain ever after the creatures of sense, that the questions which they put forth respecting the facts that they witness are returned to them again in the shape of answers?—the problems which they propose are given back in form of solutions?

If it be granted that such an instinct does exist as we have described, it follows that the appropriate object of such an instinct also exists and can be discovered. If it be an attribute of our humanity to ask why phenomena occur as they do, if we demand an explanation of the general facts of abstraction, no less than of the particular facts of our observation; the demand is a reasonable one—it can be answered. He that says it cannot, must meet the objections that the instincts of the lower animals are suited with their proper objects, and that God is not a God of truth if it is not so in man. So carefully is the nature of brutes adapted to their circumstances, that they not only find instinctively what their wants require, but when, by change of circumstances, their wants are supplied without the necessity of an instinctive principle, the useless instinct is suspended. God neither creates nor continues in existence a useless faculty in brutes. And who that has due reverence for the wisdom and truth of God, will dare to say, that he has made us to seek after that knowledge which is beyond the reach of our faculties?

Instinctively to seek after an object is to believe that the object of our search may be found. If there be no such object, it is instinctively to believe a lie. Has the God of truth thus constituted us? If he has not, the only alternative with those who deny that we can know why phenomena take place as they do, is to deny that we do instinctively seek after this knowledge. When it comes to a flat denial of what our consciousness and our observation affirm, we must leave off discussion; but we do not cease to hold to the truth of the alleged fact.

On entering the study of philosophy, the inquiry cannot fail to present itself to a thinking mind,—What object shall I propose to myself in this study? The inquirer cannot put the question to any instructor so properly as to his own consciousness. Let him ask himself,—What are the demands of my being in relation to the study before me? What is the most deeply interesting question which I should wish to propose to the Spirit that created me and inspired me with thoughts? That is just the question to which the inquirer may and must seek for an answer. He must do it with profound humility indeed: but setting out in the inquiry with this spirit, let him not fear that he is asking what God does not design that man shall know. Paradoxical as it may seem, the wants of man are proofs of the beneficence of God. The assertion might be maintained as a general proposition. But we now allude to the wants which man feels in regard to the knowledge of himself, and the subjects of his thoughts. These wants are the clues to guide him in the pursuit of a science that will bless him forever. If he seeks to know that which he does not really want to know, he shall bring leanness into his soul. But if he humbly seeks supplies for his real wants, his soul shall be blessed as with marrow and fatness.

We hear it sometimes represented as a sin to ask why this or that event took place as it did. It is said to be the indulgence of a reprehensible curiosity to inquire for any thing but facts. Reasons are the secrets of the Holy One. Facts are for man. And we are referred to the infernal spirits of Milton alleviating the sufferings of their prison-house by metaphysical speculations, as examples to be shunned. But is no distinction to be made between an honest attempt to supply a want of our being, and the perverse speculations of wicked men and evil spirits? We confess that we feel in-

dignant when we hear instructors of youth cautioning their pupils not to attempt to go "beyond their tether," when they make inquiries after truth with all the earnestness of a soul hungering and thirsting after knowledge. "Observe facts, learn the opinions of others, read your Bible with the spectacles of a party, and keep still." This is the substance of the advice too often given by men in high places. How many ingenuous and promising youth it has benumbed and rendered inefficient for life, we shall know hereafter.

What then are the wants which all men feel in regard to the subject under consideration? What do we instinctively seek after in respect to mind and its phenomena? The inquiry cannot be easily answered. To answer it fully requires a degree of self-knowledge which we must confess we do not possess. But if the imperfect answer which we shall give shall make it apparent that statements made by our author respecting the object of metaphysical inquiry are inadequate, and therefore erroneous, our labor will not have been in vain.

One of the queries which will arise in the mind of a reflecting person when he turns his thoughts inward, regards the extent of his knowledge. The question may not be suggested in the formal language here used. But the idea denoted by it will certainly be present. For what is the meaning of the inquiry? It is nothing more than the interrogation which a thinking man puts to himself when he witnesses any new and striking fact.—Why is it so? Philosophers tell us of putting interrogatories to nature, and receiving an answer. If this be considered the language of poetry, it is well enough. But it is not philosophical language. For when we desire to account for any thing we do not ask nature why it is so, but we put the question to our minds. Nature has done all that she can when she has given us the fact. She never gives the reason. She tells us *it is so*, but she does not tell us *why*. She affirms, but she never explains. Mind and mind alone can give a reason. And as we cannot get an explanation of her operations from nature, in other words, as nature will not tell us why she works as she does, so neither can one mind *depend* on another for a reason. Our neighbor may endeavor to give us a reason. But if we do not find the reason which he would give us in our own minds, his labor will be vain. To ask why an event takes place as it does, is therefore to demand

a reason for it from our own minds. It is to ask our minds what they know about it. It is to inquire concerning the extent of our knowledge. We contend that every man, if he be a proper man and not an animal *does* ask the *reason why*.

This question has been agitated much in the schools. The learned have debated it from Plato downward to the present day. And they seem to be nearly as much divided respecting the true answer as when the discussion commenced. If the question is ever settled, it will doubtless be decided by each party retiring within the circle of his own consciousness where truth alone resides, and where the same identical truth, entire, symmetrical, and beautiful beyond expression will be found to dwell, when the whole circle shall have been thoroughly examined. Some answer can be given; on this point there can be no doubt. It is not an unreasonable thing to ask a reason. And every reasonable question may be answered. Otherwise God is not true. What answer will consciousness give to the reasonable inquiry which we propose when our curiosity is excited by striking facts in the natural world? What is a reason? What is the extent of our knowledge?

When we read with profit we always require that the book we have in hand should explain itself. We demand to know why this or that is said, why this topic is introduced, or that illustration, and what is the point and purpose of the whole. If we are often baffled in our inquiries, we either infer a deficiency in our power of comprehension, or else we set the author down as a weak writer. We have an *idea* of a composition when we sit down to the perusal of any particular piece of composition which we require to be realized. If we had no idea of what a composition ought to be, we should be unreasonable to throw aside any composition as bearing the marks of imbecility; our preference of one book above another would be mere caprice. Our object, when we hold such an inquisition as we have described, over any book that we are reading, is to learn whether the thoughts of the author as they are combined in the work before us, are consistent with our idea of a composition. We find the reason for approving or disapproving the author in our own reason. The same process of mind occurs when we try any work of man. When, for example, we examine the construction of an arch, we pronounce the architect well or ill acquainted with his



business, according as the idea which we get from his work, is consistent or inconsistent with the geometrical principles in our mind on which such a work should be constructed.

In answering the question *why*, therefore, in respect to the work of another mind, we endeavor first to make his thought our own. When we have done so, we examine his thought with our own mind; and we pronounce our neighbor to be wise or unwise, according to the result of this examination. The whole process consists in thought, scrutinizing thought. Thought comes before thought for trial. Thought is taken and examined. Proteus is caught, and bound, and forced to utter all that he knows. When thought has revealed itself to thought, we have ascertained all that was to be learned of the work of our neighbor; there is no mysterious something concealed in some recess too deep for our penetration; we have fathomed the depth of his science; nothing more remains to be known. Here is the limit of our inquiries; and here we are ever willing, yea, delighted, to rest. Thought cannot go beyond itself. Reason cannot seek for reason out of herself. When reason is given to reason; when reason finds herself she is satisfied. She cannot rest in any thing outward. This dissatisfaction in every thing *ab extra*, and this perfect peace in contemplating herself, proves that reason is the home of reason, and that she is a stranger and a foreigner in the fleeting events of this world.

We have attempted to show what it is that is the object of our thoughts when we pass judgment on the work of a finite mind. If we have been successful, we have made it apparent that we may and must take cognizance of the ideas or principles of that mind, if we would give judgment like reasonable men. We wish that the process by which we decide on the merit of a human work may be attended to, because we believe that the same method is observed in finding an answer to the question, why the works of God are such as they are. What is it, then, that gives us that perfect satisfaction when we ask why an author of superior genius has written as he has? In order to see the reason, we must have the same (kind of) power to judge of his composition, that he exercised when he produced it. As we proceed in the reading his thoughts become ours. We contemplate them with the power of mind that is common to us both, and the same emotions of pleasure move our minds which agitated his. If there be any difference, it is only a difference in degree.

Now the works of genius are the product of original and creative ideas. They are creations, not imitations of other works. The governing ideas or principles of these creations commend themselves to our reason, and excite in us those pleasurable emotions, which principles, whether of works of taste or of science, cannot fail to produce when they are vividly perceived. The ideas of some of Shakspeare's works may have been suggested by some old ballads or traditionary tales; but they were Shakspeare's ideas. He was not a copyist. One who follows in the footsteps of another, it has been well said, can never get before him. When we read Shakspeare with pleasure and profit we have the spirit of Shakspeare; we see with his eyes; the grand idea of his works presents itself to our minds as it did to his; and the subordinate ideas, which constitute and are comprehended in the main idea, are seen to be so compacted together as to form a perfect unity. We see the same beauty in his creation which he himself beheld, and we pronounce it to be very good. Now if Shakspeare's works are not mere abstractions from other works, if he was not a servile imitator, and if we can identify our thoughts and emotions with those of Shakspeare, then we can also have ideas that are not images of other things transferred to our minds like the impressions of stereotype plates.

The power of criticism implies an idea of composition which the reading of books may have suggested, but could never have originated. Without such an idea where would be our standard? In the most perfect compositions, in the various departments of literature? But how do we know what are the most perfect compositions? Must we not already have our standard to enable us to form our standard? And if any imperfect standard be adopted by composers and critics, how shall we pass beyond it? Will not the literary world be at a stand? Shall we not be compelled to remain where we are in the road of improvement? No, the standard of enlightened and rational criticism has never been reached. Even the divine Milton we will trample under our feet sooner than we will make him our criterion for judging of literary excellence. Our standard is ideal. When we ask ourselves why we are delighted with works of genius, we do not account for it by saying to ourselves that we have compared them with a pattern, and found them to coincide in length, and breadth, and depth. The source of our deep satisfaction

is that agreement which we find between the works in question and our own unborrowed idea. Reason sees herself. The question, Why did the author write thus rather than otherwise, is answered. We never feel disposed to ask again, as we always do, where a sophistical answer is given.

The foregoing is an argument and an illustration. It is an argument. It proves that the principles of one science at least—the science of criticism—are not “general facts.” It proves that the rules by which we judge of human productions are not generalized from the works themselves which are the subjects of our criticism. But our chief design in thus alluding to the creations of human genius was to illustrate and enforce the sentiment that our knowledge of the works of the Divine Mind is not confined to mere phenomena. All phenomena we cannot explain. There are classes of facts which have not given rise to any science. But so far as we are able to explain phenomena, the explanation is precisely analogous to that which is given in answer to the question, why Shakspeare has written as he has rather than otherwise. The thoughts suggested by the book of nature are the thoughts of God. We contemplate those thoughts with the reason which God has given us, and which is like his own reason,—the image of Him who filleth all in all,—and we are filled with a delight kindred to that which we feel when we contemplate the creative ideas of a human intellect, but more profound. And if we have proper *affections* towards the all-wise Creator, in addition to a clear perception of the ideas which he has published in his works, we rejoice in his creation with a joy that is unspeakable and full of glory.

We know that we advance a doctrine which is thought by many to savor of pride, not to say impiety, when we affirm that the principles of the Divine Mind in the creation of the world can be comprehended by man. But we will endeavor to substantiate our assertion. Let it be distinctly understood what the doctrine is which we would establish. We do not mean that we can know why God has made such a world as he has rather than another. We do not profess to be acquainted with the decrees of Jehovah. But looking upon the world as it is, we think we can see, through its phenomena, principles which must have been in the Divine Mind when he created it. Our meaning may be understood by the illustration already given. We cannot tell why Shakspeare

composed such works as he has given us. But we can discover the principles by which he was guided in their composition. We can see reason in the grand outlines of his works. We can understand why an essential alteration in them would be an alteration for the worse.

There are two lights in which the world may be viewed,—either as a work of *taste*, or a work of *science*.

Works of taste were first suggested by the world. Poets, painters, &c. have been called imitators, and their arts have been styled *imitative*. The name evinces that critics have considered these arts as having had their origin in the study of nature. But we would show that they are not strictly imitative, but that they are founded on original principles, and that these principles were first bodied forth for the contemplation of artists in the world. We would show that the first artist who caught the idea of beauty from nature, and reproduced it in a work of his own, was as truly taught by the great Artist of the universe, as were the disciples of Raphael by their master.

Imitation of the highest order may be practised without the knowledge of a single principle. An artist may select from every assemblage of beauties which he has ever seen, those particular beauties which strike him the most pleasantly, and bring all together into one group, and still be nothing but a copyist. He may be just as ignorant of principles as the boy who follows a particular example in solving an arithmetical problem, but knows nothing of the ground of the operation. Nature exhibits innumerable examples of solutions of problems in the fine arts. The artist may copy these solutions as a mere tyro, without knowing the principles on which the operations of nature are founded; or he may select parts of solutions, and unite them so as to please the fancy, and yet be devoid of any higher intelligence than is necessary to imitate correctly an arithmetical or algebraic process. Would this be genius in the fine arts? Was our countryman West of this school? Did he belong to the *kind*? Unless the cultivators of these arts have been transported beyond the bounds of truth by the enthusiasm which is wont to be felt by artists, they have been guided by principle, not by copy. They tell us of a fair ideal which they have attempted to realize. They express their dissatisfaction because they have been unable to give full and perfect utterance to conceptions. If we know nothing ourselves of such



an ideal, and do not comprehend the principles on which artists have proceeded in endeavoring to give it expression, we are bound as candid men to receive their testimony. But we have sufficient *data* from which we may infer that the enthusiastic language of artists concerning the "*immensum infinitumque*" of the Roman orator is not the offspring of passion alone. How is it that one mind impresses another the most deeply? Let us call to mind the superior power which some speakers have exercised over our minds, by way of illustration. In what did the secret of their power consist? Was it not in this, that some one leading idea was the law of their discourse? Did not a process of assimilation seem to be going on while they were speaking, by which the materials of their discourse, however varied, were all united into one living, organized body, and made to serve to one effect? If we will remark that the same principle must be observed in every production of mind, of whatever kind, that is designed to produce impression, we shall understand, and be ready to admit, that the fine arts are not strictly imitative, but that they derive their spirit and power from a higher source than the things themselves, whether separate or combined, which they represent. Whoever would excite the higher emotions must do it by some one grand idea. There may be other subordinate ideas; but they must all be comprehended in the leading idea. When they are so comprehended in it as to be essential to its completeness, the unity and perfectness of the whole being destroyed by removing or disarranging any one of them, an ideal has been formed. Such an ideal in a painting, of the crucifixion, for example, would be as unlike an imitation as the body of a living man is unlike the same body after the spark of life is extinct.

A work of taste by a human author, then, must be founded on original principles, if it would claim the highest praise of genius. Now the works of taste produced by human genius were brought into existence in consequence of the study of nature. They were suggested by the contemplation of the beautiful and the grand in the world. He who first caught the higher emotions of sublimity and beauty in the world, and essayed to reproduce them in others by language, was the first genuine poet. All works of taste, therefore, whether natural or artificial, are of the same kind. The same principles, expressed by similar signs, produce the same emotions. But if the principles of natural and artificial works

of taste *are* the same,—if, in fact, men of genius, in all the departments of taste, have been the pupils of nature, is it presumptuous to affirm that we can comprehend the principles of taste which must have been in the mind of the great Artist when he created the world?

We are able to tell why a work of genius affects us as it does. We can analyze the work. We can point out its various excellences or defects, and show how they all unite in the impression. This is the *office* of criticism. It requires high qualifications; but it can be done. The world excites in us similar emotions. It utters similar ideas. We can bring the ideas which the world speaks to us into distinct consciousness. We can answer the question, why we are moved by the beautiful and the grand in nature. We can discover those principles in nature which constitute it such a work of taste as it is. But when we have found the principles of taste in nature, we have found them not as the principles of nature, but of the God of nature. We can, therefore, rise above the symbol, to the essence of the symbol. We can discover the principles of taste both in the works of man, and the works of God.

It is impossible for us not to believe, that the principles of morals which we hold are the principles of God. When we find them in ourselves, we find them not as our own, dependent on our will; but as the principles of God. But if God holds the same principles of morals with man, is it unreasonable to suppose that he holds the same principles of taste? What are principles in any thing? Not the creatures of man; man discovers, he does not create them. Man may create a work with his own free-will that shall be governed by certain principles. But principles themselves are eternal;—they belong to God. Man can have no more power to create or annihilate them, than to pull down the throne of the Eternal. They are all given to man to be perceived as his own, in the same manner as the principles of morals are his, and yet belong to the Holy One.

The world may also be considered a work of *science*.

Natural philosophy, so far as it is scientific, is but a transcript of the laws of God published in his own work. We do not entertain the same views with Abercrombie on this subject. By the laws of God we do not mean those uniform effects which our eyes behold, and from which we infer a cause. According to him, the laws of nature are only state-

ments of "general facts," or, in other words, of uniform effects. For example, we have observed that certain insects uniformly place their eggs on those vegetables, which are suited to the constitution and taste of their young. This uniform fact is a law of nature, which we denominate instinct. But we would ask, in the first place, whether this be a correct use of language? Do we not mean by a law that which *governs*; and would it not be more consonant with usage to say that an effect takes place *according* to a law, rather than that an effect, or any number of effects, *constitutes* the law? If there be no idea in natural philosophy that is analogous to the idea which we commonly designate by the word *law*, would it not be better to expel it altogether from the vocabulary of natural science as a deceiver?

But the perversion of language, with which those are chargeable, who call uniform effects the laws of nature, is not the only objection to such a use of words. They deny the existence of any idea in the science of nature, which may be denoted by the word in question. Perhaps our author would not deny that there are laws which *govern* phenomena;—he hints at a "mysterious connection" between cause and effect;—but he contends that they are undiscoverable by us in our present state of being. This opinion of his is inconsistent, as we have before remarked, with another sentiment which he holds, that we can discover the existence of God by reasoning from effect to cause. Let us recur to the example already mentioned. The butterfly always deposits its eggs in situations where its young may find the food that is adapted to their constitution and palate. Here we witness a uniform effect and infer a cause. But if this be the whole of our knowledge of the phenomena, can we, with any propriety, call the cause the wise Jehovah? Do we discover an intelligent Person in the cause? It is the attribute of personality to act according to a principle; but if our author is correct, all knowledge of principle is entirely excluded. Immutability alone is no mark of wisdom. Mohammedan fate is immutable. Immutable adherence to principle, and change of operations, for the sake of such immutability, marks a wise and personal cause. In nature the connection between successive events which are connected as antecedent and consequent is fixed; the very definition of power which empiricism gives makes immutable

antecedence necessary to the existence of a cause. A cause in nature must be fate; the antecedent of all things must be immutable destiny, if empiricism is the true philosophy. It may be said, however, that the existence of God is proved not from the effects themselves which we witness in nature, but from the useful and benevolent purpose evinced in these effects. But how can empiricism discover an ultimate end in nature? She is concerned only with the uniform relation of cause and effect; and this relation she discovers only by observing numerous instances in which they are connected. The ultimate purpose of a rational mind, which may be seen in a single instance as well as in a thousand, is not one of the general facts of empiricism. And suppose it were, which do we find abandoned, when either the uniform effect must be given up, or else the benevolent purpose intended by the effect? The fall of bodies is in general a beneficent effect. Has this effect ever been suspended in cases where it would be destructive in the highest degree? Is that wise and benevolent action, so far as we can discover, which is immutably the same in circumstances which would seem to us to require a change?

The butterfly deposits its eggs by instinct, that is, *by doing it uniformly*.—A stone falls by gravitation, i. e. *by falling*. Can it be that our language on this subject is so utterly devoid of meaning? Do we deceive ourselves so grossly when we think that we are talking intelligibly? Is the phraseology of the whole world wrong, and have a few philosophers of modern times discovered our error? Then let them reform the world,—if they can. For our own part we believe that the world is incorrigible on this point, and that it will continue to talk *as if* laws were something more than facts. And here we would call the attention of our readers to that phraseology by which the law that governs most of the tribes of animals is contrasted with the law that governs the human race. Brutes, it is said, are directed in their movements by *instinct*, but the actions of man are guided by *reason*. If reason is not to be confounded with rational action, no more is instinct to be considered as one with instinctive development.

There must be a beginning of the series of antecedents and consequents, as all will admit, who are not so consistent in their empiricism as to deny the existence of a God. To test the notion that all our knowledge of law and power is



that of uniform sequence in time, let us consider, for a moment, the connection between an ultimate fact and its cause. We will take a very common illustration from Dr. Brown. "A stone tends to the ground—that it should have this *tendency*, in consequence of the mere presence of the earth, appears to us most wonderful; and we think, that it would be less wonderful, if we could discover the presence, though it were the *mere presence*, of something else. We, therefore, in our mind, run over every circumstance analogous, to discover something which we may consider as present that may represent to our imagination the cause which we seek." It is evident, from this quotation, that Brown considers that there is no other cause for the tendency of the stone to the earth than the earth itself; and from the quotations which have before been made from him, it appears that he considers a *cause* as nothing more than an *antecedent in time*. The illustration which he has chosen is therefore exceedingly unhappy; for the earth is no more an antecedent of the falling stone, than the stone is of the earth. The tendency of each towards the other is reciprocal; and the same is true of all the bodies that compose the universe,—no one is the antecedent of any or all the rest; the idea of time cannot be introduced to account for the phenomena of attraction. We must, then, look for an antecedent to the phenomena of attraction out of the world, or else we must admit that there is something in the world besides the material things which our eyes behold, and their position as antecedents and consequents. Suppose we embrace the former alternative. The antecedent of all the phenomena of gravitation must then be conceived to be the will of God. The falling of a stone, and the drawing of a planet towards the centre of its orbit, must be consequents of the volition of God as their immediate antecedent. What appears to us to be a relation between the parts of the universe—the mutual action of the bodies which compose it—the harmony of their movements arising from a principle pervading them and constituting them one organized mass—all this is an illusion. There is no bond of connection among them. There is not even that dead succession in time existing between the phenomena of attraction which Brown and our author regard as the whole subject of philosophic inquiry. Every phenomenon of attraction is entirely isolated from every other phenomenon, and connected only with the divine will, and

this only in time ; it *follows* but is not *produced* by it in any other sense than that of being subsequent to it. Brown himself would not admit this, as it seems to us, legitimate conclusion from his doctrines. "It is the influence of the analogy of our own muscular motions, as obedient to our volition," he remarks, "together with the *mistaken* belief of adding greater honor to the divine Omnipotent, which has led a very large class of philosophers to ascribe every change in the universe, material or intellectual, not to the original *foresight* and arrangement merely, (the irresistible evidence of which even the *impiety*, that professes to question it, *must* secretly admit,) but to the direct operation of the Creator and Sovereign of the world." We make this quotation not as approving the sentiment which it expresses, but merely to show that Brown saw the inconsistency of the results to which, we are persuaded, his view of the object of metaphysical inquiry leads. It is impossible, for a rational, thinking man, not to seek after some other relation between the parts of a *system* besides the relation of *before* and *after*. In a system there are mutual relations, and relations of parts to a whole. These relations would not exist objectively ; they would be purely ideal, without some positive efficiency to govern and maintain them. This is the efficiency of *law*.

The foregoing remarks will make the meaning of the proposition, that nature is a book of science, to be understood, although the doctrines maintained should be thought, as doubtless they will be by many, to be erroneous. As we have already said in regard to poetry, it is the business of philosophy to trace the connection of the visible operations of nature with the life and spirit by which she is actuated. The ideas with which both are conversant are not, indeed, precisely the same. The one seeks for ideas of the beautiful and the grand. The other seeks for the laws and constitutive principles of the world. Their object is not precisely the same. Philosophy aims to discover and separate from their connection with the diagrams in nature the principles therein set forth. Poetry would embody principles in symbols. Discovery is the province of philosophy ; invention, of poetry. Still philosophical and poetical genius are more nearly akin to each other than is generally supposed. Both agree in this that they employ imagination in the study of nature. Phenomena are the glass through which they look at principles. A poet who is not philosophical, is but a versifier ;

and a philosopher who is not poetical, is but a mechanic. Newton imagined the law of gravitation, no less than Milton the character of Satan. There was more of discovery in the imagination of Newton, and more of creation in that of Milton. But in both cases that power was employed which concerns itself with principles embodied in examples. Newton saw the principle of universal attraction in the fall of an apple. Milton caused others to see the principle of moral evil in the person of the fallen angel. The Marquis of Worcester is said to have had the idea of employing steam as a mechanical power suggested to him, by seeing the cover of the vessel in which he was preparing some food, while confined in the tower of London, suddenly lifted up by the expansion of the steam. This hint led to the invention of the steam-engine, which he has described in the "Century of Inventions," in very vague and mysterious terms indeed, but clearly enough to leave no doubt that his description furnished the clue by which other minds have been guided in perfecting his invention. Why was it that a trivial circumstance, which had been witnessed a thousand times before, flashed into the eye of *his* mind the discovery of a new mechanical power, which he himself called "semi-omnipotent?" It was because he was more than a mere observer. Like Newton he looked through transient phenomena to permanent principles. We do not mean that the force arising from the alternate expansion and condensation of steam was similar to the law of gravitation; but that the discovery of the applicableness, and the actual application of this force to machinery, implied the philosophic insight which we have described.

It may have been thought during the progress of this discussion that too little has been said about the laws of *mind*, and too much respecting the principles of *taste* and natural *science*. But if our readers will consider what opinion it is that we are opposing, namely, that the sole object of science is to observe the relation of facts to each other as successive, and that the same laws of investigation should govern our inquiries into the principles of criticism, and of natural philosophy, as into the principles of mind; they will see that our allusions to those sciences are not inappropriate. We have chosen to draw our illustrations from the external world, because we could thus make our meaning better understood. There is, in fact, a very close connection between the study

of nature, and the study of mind. We must become acquainted with both by resorting to the same source of intelligence. The knowledge of every thing is included in self-knowledge. We can know nothing of the objects without us any further than we know our thoughts,—every thing is contained within the narrow circle of consciousness. A man can know himself only on condition of becoming acquainted with all the objects of his knowledge, and *vice versa*, he can become acquainted with the objects of his knowledge only by knowing himself; or, to express the proposition in more general terms, we can make advancement in science, only by the study of our minds; and we can be good mental philosophers, only by being philosophers in the largest sense of the word.

Notwithstanding his inadequate statement, as we must think it, of the object of philosophic inquiry, Dr. Abercrombie has written a work whose popularity we would not destroy, if we were able. It is not its least excellence that it is written with modesty and candor. The author does not make high pretensions; he professes only to give a simple statement of facts in regard to the *operations* of the human mind, and he has adhered to his purpose with remarkable fidelity. He has not been led astray, as too many of his predecessors have been, by the false lights of theory, even when they thought that they were strictly following the inductive method. He has not been betrayed by the ambition of being the founder of a new system, into the *immorality* of depreciating and carping at the labors of preceding philosophers. He is a Christian, and has written with a Christian spirit. The work will be useful to those for whom it was more especially designed—the medical profession. The connection between a sound mind and a healthy body need not be pointed out. Physicians ought to consider it a part of their business, not only to administer relief in case of absolute sickness, but also to do all they can to promote the healthy action of mind in their patients, by giving them, so far as medical skill can do it, unimpaired and vigorous health of body. And on the other hand, they should regard the treatment of disordered minds, that most delicate and responsible office, as coming within the sphere of their professional duty, and oftentimes, in fact, absolutely necessary to the successful treatment of bodily disorder. An acquaintance with the *physiology* of mind is therefore highly useful



to a medical practitioner. Dr. Abercombie's book contains much "excellent learning" in this department of professional study.

The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings is a work of the same unpretending character with its predecessor. We are struck, on opening the work, with its religious tendency. It is the morality of the Bible of which the author treats. He justly considers the word of God as a light of which we ought to avail ourselves in our inquiries concerning the principles of morals. For the Bible contains all the precepts by which our feelings and conduct should be regulated both towards God and towards man. Moral philosophy is not, as it seems sometimes to have been considered, a sort of supplement to the Bible, bringing to light some new truths which the Scriptures do not reveal. It is not the object of philosophy to add aught to the instructions of our Almighty Teacher in the science of ethics. Philosophy, as we have before remarked, seeks to separate principles from the symbols in which they are embodied. The Bible generally teaches morality by examples, and it nowhere sets forth a digested system of morals. It is the office of philosophy to evolve the principles of morality from the examples that occur in the Scriptures, and also from examples taken from the circumstances now present, and therefore more convincing; and to arrange its principles in systematic order under appropriate heads. Philosophy teaches the reasons of duty rather than duty itself. The Scriptures leave it to the reason of man to discover why he should yield obedience to their injunctions. Philosophy is not independent of revelation, but indissolubly united with it, and we are therefore pleased with the religious aspect of the work before us. If religion should leave the world, and return to Him whence she came, nothing *could* be given to supply her place but the mere shadow of morality.

Our author assumes certain "first truths, or articles of belief." The very essence of infidelity consists in the refusal to make assumptions. If there be any moral principles at all, there must be first principles. And these principles must, of course, be taken for granted, as well in the science of morals as in every other science. Those who admit the existence of a philosophy of morals, and who yet refuse to make assumptions in this science, must also reject the axioms of every science, if they would be consistent with themselves.

The mathematician makes his definitions, and then he declares that certain propositions in regard to the relations of these definitions are intuitively true. Suppose that the mathematician should either be so skeptical himself or should have so much regard for the doubts of others, that he should resolve to assume nothing. He would be compelled by his skepticism, or his misplaced courtesy, to acknowledge, either that there are no *first* principles in mathematics, and therefore no basis for any subsequent demonstration, and, consequently, that the whole science is without foundation, or, in other words, no science; or else that there are principles *before* the first. But mark, the person who would assume nothing, must himself make assumptions, and the most absurd assumptions too. He must *assume*, that every thing should be demonstrated. He must *assume*, either that we can arrive at no first principles in morals, or that there are principles before the first. But according to him, every thing should be proved. These assumptions of his ought therefore to be proved. But who would take it upon him to prove the assumption that every thing requires proof? The very demonstration would prove that itself wanted proof—it would destroy itself. The very existence of all science depends on the assumption of first truths. It arises from a lurking infidelity, we believe, that men are so prone to make utility the test of moral rectitude. Like the unbelieving Jews, who demanded a sign from heaven in attestation of spiritual truths, which none but “an evil and adulterous generation,” would have rejected, they cannot be satisfied without some demonstration to sense of that which the spirit only can discern.

Our limits will not allow us to notice many subjects of inquiry brought to view in the *Philosophy of the Moral Feelings*, which it would be more delightful to us, perhaps, than to our readers to discuss. The work is interesting, and will be useful; but it is not profound. The statement respecting the character of the moral feelings, and the moral sense, is inadequate. There are depths in the philosophy of mind and morals which Abercrombie has never fathomed. Truth, permanent and immutable, dwells below the surface of *things*.

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## ARTICLE VI.

## WRITINGS OF WASHINGTON.

*The Writings of George Washington; being his Correspondence, Addresses, Messages, and other papers, official and private, selected and published from the original manuscripts; with a Life of the Author, notes and illustrations. By Jared Sparks. Vols. II. and III. Boston: 1834.*

THE first volume of this work is to contain the Life of Washington; and from the limits to which Mr. Sparks confines the biography, we presume it will be greatly sought. Especially will this be likely to happen, if it shall be also published separately from the "Writings." Marshall's Life of the same man is too voluminous for universal reading, and too expensive for very general sale. And we have no hesitancy in predicting that Mr. Sparks will produce a Life, which will render of little value the copyrights of Doctors Ramsay and Bancroft.

The undertaking of Mr. Sparks, which is now so auspiciously commenced, has been announced for several years. And it is truly an object of national pride, no less than of national interest. For though the most interesting and valuable part of Washington's letters, as well as of his other writings, has already been given to the public; yet they have never before been presented in such order, sequence, and completeness, as their intrinsic value, the station and character of the author, and the honor of the country, demanded.

The elder President Adams expressed an apprehension, sixteen years ago, "that the true history of the American revolution could not be recovered." And undoubtedly there was then, and is yet, much ground to fear that the minutely exact truth of many important events, and of their true operative causes, is forever past finding out. But the nation and the world have reason to be grateful to Mr. Sparks for the additions to historical truth, which his arduous and well-

directed labors have furnished. No man in this country has done so much in this sphere of action, and no man could have done it better. We are glad to perceive that he intends to pursue these researches still further; and we anticipate from his projected *Life of Franklin*, additional light on that great man's diplomatic conduct. It may not be impertinent here to remark, that within the last quarter of a century, the indefatigable labors of English scholars have done more to disabuse the world on topics of English history, than had been done during the previous century and a half. This has been accomplished, in the main, "by going to the record." Thither Mr. Sparks has gone.

The volume, which is called second, (though it is, in fact, the first of Washington's *Writings*,) includes his letters from 1754 to 1775, when he was appointed "Commander in Chief of the Army of the United Colonies." The third volume comes down to July 1776, about three months after he reached New York, upon the evacuation of Boston by General Howe.

The letters in the second volume "relate chiefly to the French war, in which Washington was actively engaged for five years. During a large part of that time, he was commander in chief of the Virginia forces; and his correspondence in that capacity, both as furnishing historical materials and manifesting the characteristics and resources of his own mind, is curious and valuable. Many years after the letters were written, he revised the first drafts, and caused them to be carefully recorded in volumes."\*

At Braddock's defeat, Washington lost all his papers. They were taken by the French, and first sent to Canada, and thence to France. Among these papers was his official correspondence of the preceding year. Mr. Sparks has, in a great measure, repaired this loss, by his researches in the

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\* The whole number of volumes in Mr. Sparks's series, will be from eight to twelve. The transcripts of Washington's revolutionary papers occupy forty-four large folio volumes. After the revolution, his correspondence was very extensive with eminent persons in this country and in Europe, and from that time to his acceptance of the presidency, his copied letters fill six folio volumes. During the presidency, he found leisure to prepare seven volumes of recorded letters, besides many others of which press-copies were taken, and which are not preserved in books. There are fourteen other volumes in which are recorded the transactions of the president with Congress and the heads of departments, and which consist of letters which passed between him and the secretaries on special subjects. Among other records is a private journal in which his official acts and intercourse are daily noted down.



archives of the public offices in London, in the library of the war department in Paris, and in other sources, public and private, foreign and domestic, to which he obtained access in his untiring editorial inquiries.

The course, which the editor of these volumes has pursued, is thus explained by himself:—

“I have laid down two rules, which I have labored to follow with as much discrimination as possible; first, to select such parts, as have a permanent value on account of the historical facts which they contain, whether in relation to actual events, or to the political designs and operations in which Washington was a leading or conspicuous agent; secondly, to comprise such other parts, as contain the views, opinions, counsels and reflections of the writer on all kinds of topics, showing thereby the structure of his mind, its powers and resources, and the strong and varied points of his character. Upon this plan it has been my study to go carefully through the manuscripts, without regard to what has heretofore been made public, and gather from the whole, and combine into one body, the portions most important for their intrinsic value and historical characteristics; so that the work, in its complete form, may be a depository of all the writings of Washington, which it is essential to preserve, either as illustrating his political and private life, or the history of his country during the long and brilliant period of his public career.” *Introd. to Vol. II. p. xiv.*

Short historical and explanatory notes are added to some of the letters, and an appendix at the end of each volume, in which some materials of great value are repositied, that were not suited to the body of the work.

Washington's letters of an earlier date than 1754, have all been lost. But as he was in his minority until about that time, it is not probable that their contents would have given great additional *value* to the work, though they would doubtless have gratified the reader's laudable *curiosity*.

It is obviously impracticable—and it is not desirable—to give an analysis of the contents of volumes like these. Our object is to present some of the prominent historical facts which are here found, and which are not so generally known as they ought to be. Mr. Sparks has well justified the fullness of his *Notes* to the second volume, by alleging the fact, “that the history of the events upon which they have a bearing is but little known, and that hardly any of the letters to which they are attached have hitherto been published.”

Judge Marshall, in his *Life of Washington*, has quoted very freely from his letters written during the war of the revolution, and afterwards; but has made little direct use of his earlier writings. He has, indeed, given a very clear general view of Washington's first military career, and has done his whole character and services ample and discriminating justice. A perusal of the letters and notes in this second volume will greatly strengthen the impression, made by his different biographers, concerning his inflexible firmness under unexampled difficulties and vexations, and his manly forbearance under provocation and obloquy. Even the cautious pen of Marshall has characterized Dinwiddie, (the governor of Virginia,) to whom Washington "was in every minute circumstance subjected," as "a weak, obstinate, and rude man, without just conceptions of the situation or real interests of the colony."

One trait in Washington's military character, which appeared early, and which was never for a moment obscured, was his scrupulous subjection to the civil authority. "He could not be prevailed upon to exercise a delegated power to any greater extent than was absolutely necessary for a full discharge of the duties of his station. This control of that strong passion, the love of power, was one of the marked traits of his character, and a main cause of his popularity through the whole of his brilliant career." p. 280, *note*. In a letter to the Earl of Loudoun, in February, 1757, he complained of a law of the Virginia assembly, forbidding courts-martial to sit out of the colony, "by which means, (he remarked,) all proceedings held at Fort Cumberland (in Maryland) were illegal, and we were obliged to remove to Virginia for the trial of offenders, or act contrary to law, and be open to prosecution."

"On the 12th of January, Colonel Washington wrote to the Governor respecting the trial of several subaltern officers and soldiers for a mutiny. 'I thought it needless,' said he, 'to send you the proceedings of the court-martial, or to ask warrants for execution, as we have no law to inflict punishment, even of the smallest kind. I shall keep those criminals in irons, and, if possible, under apprehensions of death, until some favorable opportunity may countenance a reprieve.' The Governor replied, that, as the men were enlisted and paid with money raised for the King's service, he conceived they were subject to the articles of war, in the same manner as the King's regular forces. But so

tenacious was Colonel Washington in upholding the rights of the Assembly and the laws of the Colony, that he did not accede to this opinion. He considered the Assembly as the only proper authority to prescribe rules of discipline for an army, raised and maintained at their expense; and he believed himself amenable to the civil laws for any acts of severity not countenanced by that code. This was conformable to the scrupulous exactness with which, during all his future military career, and frequently when the interest of the public service offered the strongest temptations to the contrary, he yielded implicit obedience to the civil power."—*Vol. II. p. 224.*

In this, as in many other points, the man, who was the first President of the United States, may well be contrasted with him who now holds that office.

The character of Washington, in reference to the death of Jumonville, has greatly suffered in the hands of the French historians. Flassan, Lacretelle, Montgaillard, and other eminent French writers, have given an account of this affair, which, if true, would leave a blot on the reputation of the American commander. Mr. Sparks has most successfully vindicated Washington's conduct in this affair. We strongly wish to give our readers the entire statement; but it is too long to be copied here. We give, however, Washington's official letters on the subject, as now, for the first time, published.

*Letter to Gov. Dinwiddie, May 29, 1754.*

"Now, sir, as I have answered your letter, I shall beg leave to acquaint you with what has happened since I wrote by Mr. Gist. I then informed you, that I had detached a party of seventy-five men to meet fifty of the French, who, we had intelligence, were upon their march towards us. About nine o'clock the same night, I received an express from the Half-King, who was encamped with several of his people about six miles off, that he had seen the tracks of two Frenchmen crossing the road, and that, behind, the whole body were lying not far off, as he had an account of that number passing Mr. Gist's.

"I set out with forty men before ten, and it was from that time till near sunrise before we reached the Indians' camp, having marched in small paths, through a heavy rain, and a night as dark as it is possible to conceive. We were frequently tumbling one over another, and often so lost, that fifteen or twenty minutes' search would not find the path again.

"When we came to the Half-King, I counselled with him, and got his assent to go hand-in-hand and strike the French. Accordingly, he, Monacawacha, and a few other Indians set out

with us; and when we came to the place where the tracks were, the Half-King sent two Indians to follow their tracks, and discover their lodgement, which they did at a half a mile from the road, in a very obscure place surrounded with rocks. I thereupon, in conjunction with the Half-King and Monacawacha, formed a disposition to attack them on all sides, which we accordingly did, and, after an engagement of about fifteen minutes, we killed ten, wounded one, and took twenty-one prisoners. Amongst those killed was M. de Jumouville, the commander. The principal officers taken are M. Drouillon, and M. La Force of whom your Honor has often heard me speak, as a bold enterprising man, and a person of great subtility and cunning. With these are two cadets.

“These officers pretend they were coming on an embassy; but the absurdity of this pretext is too glaring, as you will see by the instructions and summons enclosed. Their instructions were to reconnoitre the country, roads, creeks, and the like, as far as the Potomac, which they were about to do. These enterprising men were purposely chosen out to procure intelligence, which they were to send back by some brisk despatches, with the mention of the day that they were to serve the summons; which could be with no other view, than to get a sufficient reinforcement to fall upon us immediately after. This, with several other reasons, induced all the officers to believe firmly, that they were sent as spies, rather than any thing else, and has occasioned my detaining them as prisoners, though they expected, or at least had some faint hope, that they should be continued as ambassadors.

“They, finding where we were encamped, instead of coming up in a public manner, sought out one of the most secret retirements, fitter for a deserter than an ambassador to encamp in, and stayed there two or three days, sending spies to reconnoitre our camp, as we are told, though they deny it. Their whole body moved back near two miles, and they sent off two runners to acquaint Contrecoeur with our strength, and where we were encamped. Now thirty-six men would almost have been a retinue for a princely ambassador, instead of a *petit*. Why did they, if their designs were open, stay so long within five miles of us, without delivering their message, or acquainting me with it? Their waiting could be with no other design, than to get detachments to enforce the summons, as soon as it was given. They had no occasion to send out spies, for the name of an ambassador is sacred among all nations; but it was by the track of those spies, that they were discovered, and that we got intelligence of them. They would not have retired two miles back without delivering the summons, and sought a skulking-place (which, to do them justice, was done with great judgment,) but for some special reason. Besides, the summons is so insolent, and savors so much



of gasconade, that if two men only had come to deliver it openly, it would have been too great an indulgence to send them back.

"The sense of the Half-King on this subject is, that they have bad hearts, and that this is a mere pretence; that they never designed to come to us but in a hostile manner, and if we were so foolish as to let them go again, he never would assist us in taking another of them. Besides, La Force would, if released, I really think, do more to our disservice, than fifty other men, as he is a person whose active spirit leads him into all parties, and has brought him acquainted with all parts of the country. Add to this a perfect use of the Indian tongue, and great influence with the Indians. He ingenuously enough confessed, that, as soon as he saw the commission and instructions, he believed,\* and then said he expected some such tendency, though he pretends to say he does not believe the commander had any other than a good design.

"In this engagement we had only one man killed and two or three wounded, among whom was Lieutenant Waggener slightly, —a most miraculous escape, as our right wing was much exposed to their fire and received it all."†—*Vol. II. pp. 32—35.*

*Letter to same, no date.*

"Sir,—Since writing my last I have still stronger presumption, indeed almost confirmation, that they were sent as spies, and were ordered to wait near us, till they were truly informed of our intentions, situation, and strength, and were to have acquainted their commander therewith, and to have lain lurking here for reinforcements before they served the summons, if served at all.

"I doubt not but they will endeavor to amuse you with many smooth stories, as they did me; but they were confuted in them all, and, by circumstances too plain to be denied, almost made ashamed of their assertions. I dare say you will treat them with respect, which is due to all unfortunate persons in their condition. But I hope you will give no ear to what they will have an opportunity for displaying to the best advantage, having none present to contradict their reports.

"I have heard, since they went away, that they should say they called to us not to fire; but that I know to be false, for I was the first man that approached them, and the first whom they saw, and immediately upon it they ran to their arms, and fired briskly till they were defeated.

\* "That is, he believed there was some hostile intention. La Force appears not to have seen the instructions, which were in possession of M. Jumonville. Whether he knew their import before his capture is doubtful.

"The original summons and instructions are printed among the *Pièces Justificatives* affixed to the *Mémoire* of the French government.

† "Washington and his soldiers were on the right, and the Indians on the left."

“We have heard of another being killed by the Indians, that made his escape from us; so that we are certain of thirty-three killed and taken. I thought it expedient to acquaint your Honor with the above, as I fancy they will have the assurance of asking the privileges due to an embassy, when in strict justice they ought to be hanged as spies of the worst sort, being authorized by their commander, at the expense of a character, which should be sacred to all nations, and never trifled with or used in an equivocal way. I am, &c.”—*Vol. II. p. 38.*

It is worthy of special notice, that Governor Dinwiddie's letter, on this subject, to Lord Albemarle, and to M. Drouillon, and also Washington's journal, (which he lost at Braddock's defeat, and which was published by the French government,) give the same version of this affair, which is contained in the above official letters.

The representation of the French is, that Jumonville was assassinated while bearing a summons from the French commandant. And in the articles of the capitulation made after the battle of the Great Meadows, in July subsequent, mention was made of Jumonville's *assassination*. This was a deception practised on Washington, (who was not acquainted with the French language,) and has been heretofore explained by historians and biographers. Mr. Sparks has, however, stated the circumstances with more minuteness than they can be found in any other place. See *Appendix, No. III. p. 456.*

It has always been the good fortune of Washington, that a thorough scrutiny of facts has exonerated him from all just censure; and that his conduct needed only to be known in order to be justified.

There is felt, even to this day, a warm interest in all that pertains to Braddock's defeat. Mr. Sparks has given in a note (p. 474,) one circumstance which no writer has before mentioned—“and that is *the shape of the ground* on which the battle was fought.”

“We have seen that Braddock's advanced columns, after crossing the valley extending for nearly half a mile from the margin of the river, began to move up a hill, so uniform in its ascent, that it was little else than an inclined plane of a somewhat crowning form. Down this inclined surface, extended two ravines, beginning near together, at about one hundred and fifty yards from the bottom of the hill, and proceeding in different directions till they terminated in the valley below. In these

ravines the French and Indians were concealed and protected. At this day they are from eight to ten feet deep, and sufficient in extent to contain at least a thousand men. At the time of the battle, the ground was covered with trees and long grass, so that the ravines were entirely hidden from view, till they were approached within a few feet. Indeed, at the present day, although the place is cleared from trees, and converted into pasture, they are perceptible only at a very short distance. By this knowledge of the local peculiarities of the battle-ground, the mystery, that the British conceived themselves to be contending with an invisible foe, is solved. Such was literally the fact. They were so paraded between the ravines, that their whole front and right flank were exposed to the incessant fire of the enemy, who discharged their muskets over the edge of the ravines, concealed during that operation by the grass and bushes, and protected by an invincible barrier below the surface of the earth. William Butler, a veteran soldier still living (1832,) who was in this action, and afterwards at the Plains of Abraham, said to me, 'We could only tell where the enemy were by the smoke of their muskets.' A few scattering Indians were behind trees, and some were killed in venturing out to take scalps, but much the larger portion fought wholly in the ravines.

"It is not probable, that either General Braddock or any one of his officers suspected the actual situation of the enemy, during the whole bloody contest. It was a fault in the General, for which no apology can be offered, that he did not keep scouts and guards in advance and on the wings of his army, who would have made all proper discoveries before the whole had been brought into a snare. This neglect was the primary cause of his defeat, which might have been avoided. Had he charged with the bayonet, the ravines would have been cleared instantly; or had he brought his artillery to the points where the ravines terminated in the valley, and scoured them with grape-shot, the same consequence would have followed. But the total insubordination of his troops would have prevented both these movements, even if he had become acquainted with the ground in the early part of the action. The disasters of this day, and the fate of the commander, brave and resolute as he undoubtedly was, are to be ascribed to his contempt of Indian warfare, his overweening confidence in the prowess of veteran troops, his obstinate self-complacency, his disregard of prudent counsel, and his negligence in leaving his army exposed to a surprise on their march. He freely consulted Colonel Washington, whose experience and judgment, notwithstanding his youth, claimed the highest respect for his opinions; but the General gave little heed to his advice. While on his march, George Croghan, the Indian interpreter, joined him with one hundred friendly Indians, who offered their services. These were accepted in so cold a manner, and the Indians themselves

treated with so much neglect, that they deserted him one after another. Washington pressed upon him the importance of these men, and the necessity of conciliating and retaining them, but without effect."

The deplorable condition of the colony of Virginia, during the first years of Washington's military life, is portrayed with singular force in the plain and unvarnished narrative of Marshall. But Washington's letters give a still more vivid impression of the insecurity and horrors of the frontier settlements, and of the utter inefficiency of the colonial government. In this part of his services also, (as well as during his revolutionary labors,) we see, though he was less than twenty-five years old, that he had far more foresight than his elders and commanders—that he, with unceasing vigilance and fidelity, watched the opening events of the times, and urged the prompt adoption of means to meet those events. And through the whole course of his martial life, from green youth to mature and ripened manhood, he was greatly in advance of his country's authorities, and finally succeeded by the very means which were tardily supplied by them solely on his ceaseless and urgent importunity.

The letters in the third volume will be extremely interesting to readers in New England,—as they mostly relate to military projects and movements in this vicinity. Few of us were ignorant of the leading events and facts disclosed in these letters. But the exact truth here set forth—the bare facts—we believe were before known to very few. The knowledge, now it is acquired, affects all sensitive minds like the discovery, at day-dawn, of a gulph unconsciously passed in the dark, on a narrow and decaying plank. What then must have been Washington's anxieties, with a full consciousness of the hazards of his condition, without the means of lessening them; and what his fortitude in holding, with unblenching eye and unquailing heart, a position which he dared not, on peril of destruction, should be understood either by his enemies or his friends.

While we desire that historical errors, which reproach the American character, should be corrected, we ought to assist in removing reproach unjustly cast upon our enemies. The burning of Falmouth (Portland) in October, 1775, excited extreme indignation, and was imputed to the orders of the British ministry. General Washington communicated the fact to Congress, by a letter of the 24th of October, sent by



express;\* and on the same day, in a letter to the committee of Falmouth, said he knew not how sufficiently to commiserate "the desolation and misery which *ministerial* vengeance had planned, in contempt of every principle of humanity."—Vol. III. pp. 129, 130. Mr. Sparks has shown that this outrage was not directed by the ministry, but was an unauthorized act.

### *The Burning of Falmouth.*

"As the burning of Falmouth was apparently a wanton act of power, and cruel in its effects on the people, it caused great indignation throughout the continent. There seemed to be a fatality in the British operations at the beginning of the war, which were so conceived and executed, as to widen the breach, and kindle hostile feelings even in the breasts of those, who were then least inclined to pursue forcible measures of resistance.

"The ministry have been too much censured, however, for these early acts of the British officers. It is certain, that neither the affair at Lexington and Concord, nor the destruction of Falmouth, was approved by the government. It was reported at the time, on the authority of Lieutenant Mowat, and history thus records it, that orders had been issued for burning all the seaport towns on the coast, and this was charged upon the British cabinet.—*Remembrancer*, Vol. II. p. 125. But I have seen the original correspondence between the minister and General Howe on this subject, in which the former expresses much surprise, that such an act should have been committed, and requires, in a tone almost amounting to a reprimand, that all the particulars should be forwarded to him for the inspection of the King. General Howe wrote the following explanation.

"'Before the departure of General Gage, an expedition was concerted by the General and Admiral for the destruction of Cape Ann and Falmouth, two seaport towns on the coast to the eastward, that were distinguished for their opposition to government. The *Canceaux*, and an armed transport, having a small detachment of troops on board, were sent to execute it. From circumstances it was found inexpedient to make any attack upon Cape Ann; whereupon they proceeded to Falmouth, which place, after giving timely warning to the inhabitants for the removal of themselves and effects, they destroyed on the 18th of October, burning about five hundred houses and fourteen sea vessels, and taking and destroying several others without any loss on our part.'

"This account was not satisfactory, and, on receiving it, Lord George Germain wrote again to General Howe;—'I am to

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\* See Journals of Congress, November 1, 1775.

suppose, that Admiral Graves had good reasons for the step he took to destroy the town of Falmouth, and that he did not proceed to that extremity without an absolute refusal on the part of the inhabitants to comply with those requisitions, stated in the orders he received from the Lords of the Admiralty, which, however, does not appear from any account of that transaction, which I have seen.'

"After the removal of the British army to Halifax, and General Howe had leisure to inquire into the matter more at large, he collected and sent to the minister the following particulars.

"'In obedience to your Lordship's commands for a more explicit account of the expedition to Falmouth, which was intrusted to Lieutenant Mowat of the navy, assisted by a detachment of marines and artillery, I have re-examined the officer, who commanded this detachment, and find that his orders from General Gage were, to embark on board several armed vessels, the 6th October, 1775, and to aid and assist Lieutenant Mowat in annoying and destroying all ships belonging to rebels on the coast and in the harbors to the eastward of Boston; that they first examined the harbor of Cape Ann, and finding the attack upon it inexpedient, they proceeded to Falmouth and laid the armed vessels before the town on the evening of their arrival, after which Lieutenant Mowat sent an officer on shore with a summons to the inhabitants to deliver up their arms and ammunition, acquainting them at the same time, that his orders directed him to destroy the town if they did not comply with his demand, of which they should be allowed two hours to consider and to remove their women and children.

"'Shortly after, three persons deputed by the inhabitants came on board, requesting a longer time, and it was agreed to wait their answer until eight o'clock the next morning; about which hour the same persons returned, and reported that the inhabitants were determined to await their fate. Within half an hour a signal was made by Lieutenant Mowat, the vessels began a cannonade, and several carcasses were thrown into the town, which set fire to the houses, and in a few hours consumed the greatest part of them. A detachment was then landed, who completed the destruction and re-embarked without loss. The small vessels in the harbor were burnt, sunk, or brought away, and the armament returned to Boston the 5th of November without attempting any thing further.'

"By this statement it would appear, that Mowat's original instructions were to annoy and destroy the shipping in the harbors on the coast; but, from the boldness of his conduct, it is probable that in burning the town he acted with the consent, if not by the express orders of Admiral Graves, who, as Gordon relates, was offended with the people of Falmouth on account of the obstructions, which they had given to the shipment of masts from that

place. Mowat had likewise been rudely treated at Falmouth a few months before, in consequence of the injudicious zeal and unjustifiable enterprise of Colonel Thompson and his adherents in seizing him while on shore; and this circumstance may be presumed to have been the primary cause of the rash and unwarrantable exploit of burning the town. No part of this reproach can rightfully attach to the British ministry. The act had no higher source, than the wounded pride of a subordinate officer, coinciding with the hasty resentment of his superior in command. In its results, however, nothing could have been more unfortunate for the cause of the government. The whole continent was roused to indignation at so wanton a deed, new antipathies were kindled, and the spirit of resistance became more intense and widely diffused."\*—*Vol. III. p. 520.*

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\* The following note by Mr. Sparks is inserted here for the sake of historical truth—a motive that has guided us in most of our former quotations.

"An error of some consequence has crept into history, respecting the proximate cause, which influenced the members of the continental congress in choosing Mr. Hancock to be president of that body. In *Belsham's Memoirs of the Reign of George the Third*, (Vol. I. p. 318,) it is intimated that his proscription, by General Gage, procured him this honor. Mrs. Warren, in her *History of the Revolution*, (Vol. I. p. 214,) speaks with still more confidence, and says, 'He was chosen to preside in the respectable assembly of delegates, avowedly on the sole principle of his having been proscribed by General Gage.' But Hancock was chosen president of the continental congress on the 24th of May, [1775] two weeks before Gage's proclamation, proscribing him and Samuel Adams, was issued; that instrument having first appeared on the 12th of June following. It is probable that a main reason of his being chosen, in addition to the notoriety acquired by the zealous part he had acted, was the circumstance of his winning personal address, and his having been for some time president of the provincial congress of Massachusetts, by which he had become familiar with the forms of business in a public body." *Vol. III. p. 37.*

We take occasion, in this connection, to correct another error respecting John Hancock, which is found in the second volume of Mr. Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, p. 32, to wit, "Mr. Hancock was early chosen president of that body [congress] in the absence of Peyton Randolph, of Virginia; and on the death of Mr. Randolph, in October, [1775] he was again elected to that office, which he held as long as his health permitted."

Mr. Hancock was first chosen president of congress on the 24th of May, 1775, (as above stated by Mr. Sparks,) on the return to Virginia of Peyton Randolph, who was president of the first congress, from the day of their convening until October 22, 1774, when (as the journal says) he "being unable to attend on account of indisposition, the Hon. Henry Middleton was chosen to supply his place as president." On the second assembling of congress, on the 10th of May, 1775, Mr. Randolph was unanimously chosen president, and officiated till the 24th. He died at Philadelphia, while attending as a member of congress, on the 22d of October, in the same year. Mr. Hancock was president when Mr. Randolph died. Indeed he continued president, from the day of his election, until October 29, 1777, and "then took leave of congress," which had been in uninterrupted session after May 10, 1775. He was succeeded by the Hon. Henry Laurens, who was elected on the 1st Nov. 1777, the secretary having officiated as president in the mean time. An inspection of the journals of congress, under the several dates above indicated, will show Mr. Bradford's inaccuracy.

From the private letters in these volumes, (as distinguished from the official,) we select the following, on account of the lately renewed distinction of the person to whom it was addressed :

*To Miss Phillis Wheatley.\**

Cambridge, 28 February, 1776.

*Miss Phillis*,—Your favor of the 26th of October did not reach my hands, till the middle of December. Time enough, you will say, to have given an answer ere this. Granted. But a variety of important occurrences, continually interposing to distract the mind and withdraw the attention, I hope will apologize for the delay, and plead my excuse for the seeming but not real neglect. I thank you most sincerely for your polite notice of me, in the elegant lines you enclosed ; and however undeserving I may be of such encomium and panegyric, the style and manner exhibit a striking proof of your poetical talents ; in honor of which, and as a tribute justly due to you, I would have published the poem, had I not been apprehensive, that, while I only meant to give the world this new instance of your genius, I might have incurred the imputation of vanity. This, and nothing else, determined me not to give it place in the public prints.

If you should ever come to Cambridge, or near head-quarters, I shall be happy to see a person so favored by the Muses, and to whom nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations. I am, with great respect, your obedient humble servant.

Mr. Sparks states, in a note, that he has not been able to find among Washington's papers the letter and poem addressed to him. He supposes they were doubtless lost.—“From the tenor of some of her printed pieces,” says Mr. Sparks, “it may be inferred that she was a whig in politics, after the American way of thinking ; and it might be curious to see in what manner she would eulogize liberty and the rights of man, while herself, nominally at least, in bondage.”

Mr. Sparks has inserted several of “Washington's early papers,” in the appendix to the second volume. He found, in the archives at Mount Vernon, fragments of manuscripts

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\* “Phillis Wheatley was born in Africa, and brought to Boston in a slave-ship, in the year 1761, then between seven and eight years of age. She was purchased by Mr. Wheatley, but she soon discovered qualities so interesting and peculiar, that she was treated more as an inmate of the family, than as a slave. She died at Boston, December the 5th, 1784, aged thirty-one years.”



written during Washington's boyhood and youth. "The most curious piece is a series of maxims, under the head of '*Rules of Civility and Decent Behavior in Company and Conversation.*' One hundred and ten rules are here written out and numbered. The source from which they were derived is not mentioned. They form a minute code of regulations for building up the habits of morals, manners, and good conduct in a very young person. Whoever has studied the character of Washington, will be persuaded that some of its most prominent features took their shape from these rules thus early selected and adopted as his guide." We copy two or three of these "rules," and cannot but express our mortification that men in high places do not always observe them so scrupulously and invariably as Washington did.

"Associate yourself with men of good quality, if you esteem your own reputation; for it is better to be alone, than in bad company.

"Use no reproachful language against any one; neither curse nor revile.

"When you deliver a matter, do it without passion, and with discretion, however mean the person be you do it to."

We most devoutly pray that John Randolph's prediction—"never will the American purple again fall on the shoulders of a gentleman," may not be verified.

There are also in this appendix other early papers of Washington, such as journals and letters to his friends, which have little interest, except as they illustrate character and habits; yet we would not, by any means, wish to have had them omitted.

It was no part of our object, in noticing these volumes, to write an essay or eulogy on Washington's character. We cannot attain unto it.

"None but a Phidias should attempt a Jove."

"Homo virtuti consimillimus, et per omnia ingenio diis quam hominibus proprius; qui nunquam recte fecit, ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat; cuique id solum visum est rationem habere, quod haberet justitiam: omnibus humanis vitiis immunis, semper fortunam in sua potestate habuit."

Those who have studied the character of Washington

most closely, have always been the most deeply impressed with its excellence and completeness; and those who have searched most deeply into his labors have been most ardent admirers of his diligence and method. But we greatly mistake, if the publication of his "Writings" will not enhance the wonder and admiration of those who were best informed concerning his history and works. Few men have ever performed more labor, or labor of a more arduous and harassing kind. Few have ever been placed in more difficult or vexatious positions; and no one, of whom we have any knowledge, has ever accomplished so much with so feeble means, and left so little that deserves regret or is capable of amendment.

It is not a small merit to exhibit to the inspection of mankind the true portrait of their benefactors. And "in these degenerate days," the labors of those, who have devoted themselves to illustrate the exemplars of ancient virtue and patriotism, are entitled to no ordinary gratitude. We are persuaded that they desire no higher reward of their efforts, than that by their means the spirit of Washington and Jay should be rightly appreciated by the people, and emulated by rulers.

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## ARTICLE VII.

### CONDITION OF THE PERIODICAL PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

THAT there is to be an indefinite expansion of society in knowledge and virtue, is manifest, not only from the predictions of divine revelation, but from the discoveries of science, the dawning of a better mental and moral philosophy, and the general progress of human events. The theory of the constant flux and reflux of society is not supported by satisfactory evidence. The great accumulation of facts since

the days of Bacon and the invention of printing are not in accordance with such an opinion. On the whole aspect of the civilized world, there are strong indications of the rapid approach of a period of great intellectual light, and of corresponding social and religious happiness. Towards the hastening on of such an era, the periodical press, in all its departments, is indispensable. Its great and only legitimate purpose is the establishment and diffusion of good principles over the whole world. No subordinate ends are to usurp the place of this *grand final cause*.

There is a fixed standard of right and wrong, or an ultimate tendency in taste and morals, according to which the critical reviewer is to measure his commendations and his censures. He is not allowed to be under the guidance of any lower motive than the universal happiness of man. The periodical essayist is not to fritter away his powers in the discussion of the varying fashions and tastes of a luxurious community. He ought to define and enforce the principles which lie at the foundation of all the vacillating modes of society—principles in whose operation such fashions and modes will either become entirely harmless, or productive of positive good. The magazine is to be filled with a worthy and well arranged selection of articles, all tending to some definite and good result. It is the duty of the annalist to show the bearings and connections of his facts, their adaptedness to suggest or elucidate important trains of thought, which will be valuable ages hence, either for the purposes of history, or as designed to impress great truths on the hearts of men. The editor of a newspaper, as he values the verdict of a good conscience, will not pander to every man's taste, nor follow blindly the beck of party, nor, for the sake of temporary applause or personal profit, put at hazard any great principle. Vast is his responsibility, for he touches equally the crowded city and the extremities of the country, the leading statesmen, and the blind mob.

Such being the obligations of the periodical press, it is important to inquire, Whether in our country, its obligations are sustained, and its high purposes realized. We will inquire first into the condition of the *newspaper press*.

It is obvious that a large class of newspapers are to be put out of the account as harmless, or as accomplishing very little assignable good or evil. The well meaning sentences which the editors insert, have become diluted or defunct by

transmission. The editorial paragraph is either a simple record of some sad accident by "flood or field," a small chapter of crime, a specimen of village gossip, or the annals of the arrival and departure of a stage coach, or a well conditioned caravan of cattle. There never appear in these journals a presiding mind, an independent will, a thorough acquaintance with the wants of the community, or a conscientious estimate of the power of the press. Another considerable class are positively and fatally bad. They weaken the sense of religious obligation, pervert literary taste, throw discredit on the labors of philanthropy, and stimulate an already enormous appetite for news by spreading out the details of successful and cunning fraud, or of heart-sickening licentiousness. Unwilling to trust to the silent operations of those causes, which frequently alienate different classes of society from each other, they ply all possible provocatives with dreadful eagerness. Organized efforts are now making to array the poor against the rich—efforts, which indicate a spirit little less than diabolical. A portion of the editors of these papers may honestly think that they are doing their country service, by a reckless adherence to party, and a miserable prostitution of those noble powers, which, if properly trained, and directed, would have rendered their possessors benefactors of the species. As it is, bad passions are fostered, the appetite of a community for scandal and defamation becomes rabid, curiosity ungoverned, and habits of sobriety and of candor unknown. A great contested election is not so much to be dreaded as a *contingency*, on which turns the election of a virtuous or vicious man; but as making a part of an organized *system* of evil—as a machine operating to destroy with fatal certainty much of the remaining conscience and virtue of the electors. The exhibition of extraordinary excitement and ferocious passion, which has been lately witnessed in New York, is not to be regarded as a momentary and unexpected outbursting of popular fury, but as the *continued* passion or habit, which belongs to a system of measures. Uneducated aliens, spurious patriots, or the mode of exercising the right of suffrage, were not the main cause of these disturbances. Check lists or written ballots will present but an impotent barrier to a community thoroughly aroused. The *newspaper press* had been in fault. Appeals had been thrown upon the community, charged with elements of volcanic excitement. The dire necessity of the



case, we are aware, will be urged on the one side and on the other. Sage and well-principled men almost thought that they might do evil that good might come. But this apology only removes the difficulty further back. What cause led to this state of things? How was this necessity imposed on single minded men? We answer, very much in consequence of an irresponsible or inflammatory press.

A third class of newspapers, small in number but extensively circulated, are comparatively free from objections. Though generally attached to some political party, yet they have common sense, good breeding, regard to the purity of the English tongue, and to the higher interests of literature and religion. They are not so committed to party, as to approve every measure which is devised. They can observe silence, or administer reproof to ill-advised and intemperate coadjutors. Still these papers, with all their negative commendable qualities, and with some positive excellences, are deficient. A portion of them advocate amusements which are at war with good taste and good morals. They are not firm and explicit in condemning practices, which as individuals they would abhor. Though some of their conductors are gentlemen of sound sense, correct principle, large experience in their work, yet they rarely exhibit the highest talent. We meet in their pages with but few discussions of great principles in politics or morals. We wait for the daily or weekly arrival of the paper, because of the attraction of mere news, or the need of some item of commercial or other information. The editors, who possess the requisite ability, are either withdrawn to other pursuits, or do not deeply feel the stimulus of the commanding motives which are pressing upon them. The influence of their papers is for the most part salutary, but it is not great. No original genius, no powerful mind, sparkles in their columns. They do not *lead* the community into the right path, but are themselves led by the prevailing directions of public opinion. Who looks into a newspaper for a profound discussion of a great public question? On rare occasions, we acknowledge, such discussions may be found. Master spirits, as in the case of the authorship of the *Federalist*, are accidentally called upon the arena.

A portion of the preceding remarks will apply to *religious* newspapers. They are in general conducted with candor and Christian liberality, but not with distinguished ability. They do not stamp their character on the community. Cir-

culating in every part of the United States at the rate of one hundred and twenty thousand copies weekly, they are very good vehicles for the diffusion of intelligence, the discussion of subjects of temporary interest, and for the presentation of popular appeals. They rarely exhibit, however, striking original powers. The conductors do not seem to have placed before their minds a high *ideal* of excellence, or to have formed a philosophical arrangement of their duties. Pleasant paragraphs, stirring news, entertaining narratives are found, but no great definite purpose is aimed at; the light of intellectual life does not illuminate their columns.

Intermediate between the newspapers and reviews are the magazines, literary journals, repositories of various kinds of knowledge, and the publications connected with the different benevolent associations. We here find a great diversity in external form and inward spirit. There are occasionally articles of power, excellent in their moral tendency, written in conformity with nature, and which become incorporated with the elements of thought, and the very frame of society. If such articles were more numerous, and were not in some degree neutralized by those of a greatly inferior character, we should withhold all censure. As it is, we do not wish to cast the blame where it does not belong. It is possible that other causes exist than want of ability or disposition in the conductors.

The remaining class of periodicals are the *Reviews*, of a more imposing character, and generally published at the return of the quarter. For some reason or another, their influence is not what it should be. Consecrated to the discussion of principles, which may be too recondite or elaborate for the pages of a newspaper, they ought to be the *seers* of the press, to be endowed with a keen foresight into futurity, and with rich experience from the records of the past. Their conductors possessing full time for persevering research, and profound discussion, ought to furnish a large portion of the materials of thought, and to stand at the great central places of influence.

We now propose briefly to consider some of the principal *causes* of the inefficiency of the periodical press.

The first which we shall name, is the extreme subdivision of influence and of pecuniary support, in consequence of the large number of publications. Probably more than three

fourths of the existing periodicals are very incompetently patronized. Many of them indeed are bankrupt. And here the fundamental difference between this department of labor and almost all others is to be taken into the account. The income is exceedingly uncertain and variable from the minute subdivision of patronage. The pecuniary demands are to be collected from a great extent of country, involving of course in the collection no inconsiderable expenditure. Unhappily subscribers to periodical publications sometimes exhibit a destitution of those careful habits of business, and of that rigid honesty, which they maintain in all their other business concerns. This, we are confident, is one of the main causes of the languishing state of periodical literature. Indeed, it is incident to the very nature of the employment. It has never been made, except in extraordinary cases, the source of very valuable pecuniary profit.

We mention as a second cause the want of one large capital city. We have no Bagdad, Alexandria, Paris, or London. We have half a dozen literary circles—Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York, New Haven, and Boston. The advantages of one literary emporium are clear and indisputable. It furnishes a wide field in the immediate neighborhood for the circulation of the journal. An extensive intellectual vicinity is obviously for this purpose a great desideratum. The patronage is much more sure and ample than can be expected from a distant though crowded population. Those classes of artisans upon which the beauty and cheapness of the mechanical execution depend, will naturally flow to a large metropolis. It is also the common centre of news from all portions of the world. The modes of rapid international communication, which the British government have established in various continental nations, are in many ways exceedingly servicable to the literary community of London. Authors of all descriptions will congregate in a capital. Associations and literary clubs are formed, and thus a powerful impulse is given to thought. An intellectual atmosphere is created, high standards of excellence are raised, generous competition is excited, extensive libraries are formed, valuable museums are collected, and all the various facilities for scientific discovery and original thought are perfected and concentrated. Especially is it true, that the mind is enlarged, petty rivalries are discountenanced, and the field of vision, like that of the spectator at the temple of

Minerva on Sunium, is distinct and clear. But in this country, no such centre of intellectual influence exists. Cincinnati now commands in a considerable measure the literary resources of the western valley. But how long will be the period, before St. Louis, Detroit, and other towns, will come in for a share? Periodical literature, with the exception of newspapers, has never flourished in any southern city. Philadelphia has been honorably distinguished in the history of the press, owing to the establishment of the American Philosophical Society, the labors of Rittenhouse, Rush, and Franklin, the presence of the university of Pennsylvania, particularly of its noble medical department, and the proximity of the city to the enlightened influences which have for nearly a century emanated from Princeton. In some of the branches of the fine arts, Philadelphia has clearly occupied the foremost rank. There are, however, causes, which will forever prevent that city from occupying the same ground in relation to this country, which London now does in respect to Great Britain. New-York, "the mistress of the seas," and "the haven of ships," is too deeply imbued with the commercial spirit, ever to become the literary centre of the country. Her advantages for trade with all nations, her extraordinary facilities for the cheap manufacture of books, and for their wide dissemination, confer upon her obvious advantages. Her newspapers have a higher character than those of any other American city. New Haven, as the seat of a flourishing college, has contributed her full share towards the intellectual progress of the country. Her scientific journal does honor to the nation among the most enlightened portions of Europe. But there is little hope of a great increase of the population of the city, or of her means for exerting an influence over the whole land. Boston has a position too far east ever to become what she has been styled, "The Athens of America." She may, in a considerable degree, exert an effect on New England, but she is too far from the southern, western, or even central portions of the country, to acquire an accurate knowledge of their condition or a close sympathy with their wants—a kind of knowledge which is essential to the maintenance of the influence of which we are speaking. With all the modern facilities for the circulation of news, the rapid and safe transmission of the heavier species of periodical literature has not yet been attained. A package of books can be more readily sent to London than to Cincinnati.



A book printed in Boston has been republished in Edinburgh before it has reached Cincinnati. Boston has some obvious advantages, over all other places on the continent, for exerting a literary and religious influence by means of the press. It does not comport with our plan, however, here to enumerate them.

Another cause of the minute division of effort arises from diversity of religious sects, and of theological views. Every division of opinion must have its Mercury to herald forth its claims. The first measure, after a secession, is to establish a periodical. The man, who is most able, zealous, or accessible, as the case may be, assumes the editorial responsibility, and sends forth his numbers for the space of one year or more, according as the importance of the cause, the power of the adversary, or the condition of the finances may warrant. We do not assert that this course of procedure is wrong, much less that it can be rectified. Men will think as they please, and convey their thoughts in what channel it may seem to them good. At the same time it is an effectual barrier to the highest usefulness of the press. Who will expend three months of diligent research, or of anxious thought, in preparing an article on fundamental subjects of philosophy, morals, or religion, when it is to be inserted in a polemical magazine, with a few hundred subscribers, established for a temporary purpose, and to subserve a local object? The expectation of the development of great powers of intellect in such a connection is preposterous. The prospect of reaching the eye of twelve thousand men, who occupy commanding positions in every portion of the civilized world, constitutes an *object*. Uncommon power will not be drawn forth, ordinarily, except by the pressure of the strongest motives. When Herodotus wrote his history, he expected all Greece to hear. When the orator stood on the Plymouth rock, he felt that future as well as present generations were his auditors. So great is our disinclination to accurate reasoning, profound meditation, or elaborate inquiry, that we need all possible right motives to bear on us with concentrated energy.

The peculiarly excited state of the public mind in this country, is an additional cause of the rapid rise and disappearance of periodical publications. Past benefits, and present unquestioned talent, are overlooked in the novelty of new plans, and the excitement of untried enterprises. In Europe,

though there are many sub-divisions, and conflicting interests, yet there are in fact but two great parties—reform and anti-reform. All interests are merged in this one struggle. It is Metternich mustering the armies of legitimacy to battle against the progress of free opinions and of written constitutions on the one hand, and La Fayette, with hosts of co-adjutors on the other, struggling for that liberty “with which all Europe will yet ring from side to side.” This grand separation, whose influence can be traced in the remotest ramifications of society, gives a unity and a ubiquity almost to the periodical press, which are unknown on this continent. Here, though united in some fundamental principles, we are still divided in many minor points, and we frequently contend with a zeal which is in inverse ratio to the importance of the controversy. We have no great common object to divide us into two or three masses or divisions. We have no commanding point of union or disunion. Our passions are sufficiently excited, but there are no large bodies of men, who will throw, for a long time together, an immense patronage on a particular publication, as has been the fact with the *Edinburgh Review*, and *Blackwood’s Magazine*. The readers of the pages of either of those publications are at no loss to perceive the fundamental nature of the contest. But in this country the periodical press is for the most part feeble and transitory. We have not yet learned to merge all minor differences in the great contest of light with error, of learning with ignorance, of oppression physical and moral with the glorious freedom of the patriot’s and the Christian’s hope. Our contests too often are not for principles, but for words—a mere useless logomachy, where conquest is defeat.

Another reason of the low condition of the periodical press, is the want of an appropriate and thorough training on the part of the editors and conductors. The business is assumed, as school teaching and other important engagements are, casually, and for limited periods. There is no arrangement of duties, no careful inspection of the ground, no thoughtful and mature course of personal discipline accomplished or attempted. The editor may possess important resources, but without a particular training for his pursuit, his stock of ideas will be soon exhausted. This is one cause for the marked superiority which is frequently manifested in the first numbers of our periodicals. The fountain soon becomes dry. But why should there not be a systematic pre-

paratory discipline? Is not the object sufficiently elevated and comprehensive? Is not the intellectual and moral renovation of the world a commanding motive? Think of the extent of the press. In the principal civilized countries of the world, there are at least *four thousand* periodical publications. Of this number about eleven hundred are in the United States. In Paris alone there are one hundred and seventy-six. Germany has nearly eight hundred. A single paper in Paris has had twenty thousand subscribers. Such men have been contributors to the periodical press as Chateaubriand, Malte Brun, Hoffman, Etienne, Benjamin Constant, Tissot, Cousin, and Jouy. The duties on the newspaper press in Great Britain have amounted in a single year to nearly seven hundred thousand pounds sterling. Indeed, so great is the influence of the press, that it might well be exalted into a *SCIENCE*, having its own principles, laws, sphere of operation, and practical rules.

The primary knowledge required in an editor, is an acquaintance with Divine Revelation. All literature and science are to bow in allegiance to the written will of God. If the Bible does not exhibit the facts of science, it nevertheless inculcates that spirit of docility and teachableness without which no science can be pushed to its furthest researches. The principles of morals, and of social and political intercourse, the Bible does exhibit with great freedom and precision, and with striking illustration. In what book could the common newspaper editor find better landmarks to guide his course than in the Proverbs of Solomon, and in the sermon on the Mount? The Bible is not to be the text book of clergymen only, but of civil officers, political economists, and of the whole editorial corps. When the lawyer or the writer adduces the authority of God's word, they have no reason for apologizing, as if they were treading on forbidden ground. The influence of that volume is most assuredly to be diffused through every department of society. But how can this be done, if any portion of the public press abstain from all communion with its principles or its spirit?

Another department of knowledge with which editors ought to be acquainted is *history*; in its principles as well as its details, in the connections of its events as well as in the events themselves. History is not found in Smollett or Gordon, but in Hallam and Story. An editor must have resources, not only in illustrative facts, but in guiding princi-

ples, and in the hinges of events. He will thus be prepared to instruct his readers, to direct public opinion into the right channel, forsee what *ought* to be the condition of the public mind, and adapt all his writings accordingly. Many editors seem to have no object in view from year to year. They are driven about by varying currents, with no *intention* in their efforts, unless it be to put down a rival party or an obnoxious candidate for public favor. In respect to the history of the United States, we give too great a prominence to mere military movements. We stop with the victory at Yorktown. The years from 1780 to 1811 seem to us devoid of interest, while in fact during those years, the very elements of society were in motion. Elliott's Journal, Hamilton's Speeches, the Federalist, the Secret Debates, are like the Sybilline leaves, unknown except to the initiated. We magnify the excitements of the present year, as though we had never heard of Genet, of Jay's Treaty, and other subjects which shook this nation to its centre.

An accurate acquaintance with the condition of society in this country is of great importance,—a kind of knowledge which no person out of the country, and no travelling foreigner can possess. The exceedingly complicated organization of society and its delicate relations must be understood. Such terms as innovators, conservatives, aristocrats, lower classes, New-England-men, new and old school, are the signs of real and important ideas. The knowledge of these diversified divisions is to be acquired by the careful study of the principles of human nature as modified in this country.

We have no space to mention other branches of knowledge indispensable to the profession. It would not probably be advisable to institute a distinct school for editorial instruction. The best training which editors can have is acquired in our colleges. To this there ought to be a superadded course—the first as laying the foundation, the second as building the superstructure. Ought not provision to be made at our colleges, by scholarships, fellowships, or otherwise, for the thorough professional education of the two or three thousand individuals who are to guide the press? A scholarship would afford the leisure for a dispassionate survey of the ground, for an estimate of the necessary qualifications, for a mutual understanding among all who are preparing to engage in similar pursuits, and thus the coöperation of a large number of men of the right principles, and of similar views,



would be brought to bear with great force on the condition and prospects of the country. The difficulties which result from ambiguous language, unconciliatory temper, dissimilarity of birth, and political connections, might be in a considerable degree obviated. Appropriate libraries would be formed, various influences concentrated, and gradually a public opinion created, which could not fail to be attended with most gratifying results, on the science and profession of the press. The thoughtless assumption of an office involving such weighty responsibilities as the periodical instruction of five thousand or ten thousand human beings, is lamentable indeed.

Another principal cause of the want of success in our periodical press is the floating and contradictory opinions which prevail in relation to some departments of literature and of mental and moral science. In what way can an editor exert a commanding and permanent influence, unless his readers or a portion of them, as well as himself entertain just conceptions, or agree in certain first principles in relation to the great subjects of human consciousness and observation. He has no land marks to direct his course, no inward laws to shape his efforts. He may write just criticisms, and offer intelligent remarks, but they will be made at random and will tend to no definite result.

Poetry is one of these departments. It is by accident that an article of first rate poetry finds its way into the newspapers. Of the utterly worthless character of a large portion of the selected and original poetry of the newspapers, no person of true taste needs to be informed. The fact is decisive indication of at least one thing; the editors do not attach much importance to the column which is periodically appropriated to this purpose. Poetry is not regarded as among the elements of thought. Its foundation is not laid in the original principles of our nature. It is not currently represented as tasking the highest powers of the human mind. The common opinion is that it is intended simply to *please*, to furnish innocent and momentary delight, not to change the current of human feelings, and transform the entire character. The effect of the few superior hymns, or the highest religious lyrical poetry, is deserving a critical analysis. Have not those strains of Cowper, Watts, and Wesley, which in a literary or poetical view are the best and most finished, been precisely the ones which have produced the most permanent effects? We are continually grieved in

hearing stanzas read from the pulpit, which cannot be considered as respectable prose, while in the same collections are hymns which open all the fountains of feeling in the human soul. Just consider the estimation in which Wordsworth is regarded in this country. A small edition of his select poems was published in Boston in 1824, in beautiful style, and yet a considerable portion of the edition is unsold. In these ten years, what scores of the volumes of Mrs. Hemans, of Scott, Byron, and Pope, have been scattered abroad. Intelligent men, who profess to be acquainted with poetry, will utter the expressions of entire indifference or of deep-seated dislike to a poet of the profoundest philosophy and of the most transcendent imagination. We have been utterly astonished at the gross ignorance which reigns in respect to the first book of the *Excursion*, containing touches of as genuine nature, and of as true a pathos, as ever uninspired lips breathed. This indifference to Wordsworth is not to be ascribed to his philosophical system, to his Platonism, to what men are pleased to name his mysticism, but to the want of correct views in regard to the nature and objects of poetry. It is to be doubted whether the *peculiar* merits of Bryant are generally seen, or are the reason why *two* editions of his collected poems have been called for. He is liked perhaps, as Thomson is, for some "Musidora," or "Lavinia."

Let us consider, for a moment, the science of Political Economy. What a waste of intellect, time, patience, arithmetic, eloquence, money, in the halls of our congress, for the last fifteen years, on the vexed question of the tariff? Men of great capacity, acquainted with and familiarly quoting the same volumes of political and commercial law, maintaining the most contradictory opinions in regard to the true policy of the country! Are there inexplicable difficulties on this subject? Is it inevitably to be in a chaos? Are there no principles in the word of God, in the experience of nations, or in the human mind, which can fix this science on a sure basis? A grave and learned body of men alternately affirming and reversing decisions which so closely affect the wealth and happiness of millions, is a most mortifying proof of the vanity of human wisdom. Writers of the ability of Malthus and Chalmers set themselves seriously at work to provide ways and means to prevent the world from becoming overstocked with inhabitants. The contradictory opinions

on this subject extend their influence of course to the periodical writer. How in such circumstances can he be expected to pursue an enlightened and congruous course?

The case is no better in respect to mental and moral science. The great business of writers, as they successively appear, seems to be to demolish the superstructure of their predecessors. The materialism of Locke and Paley is diffused through all the anglo Saxon tribes. Locke's *Essay*, and Paley's *Philosophy*, are text books at the principal British and American colleges. The volumes of Dugald Stewart are indeed elegantly written, but who ever rose from his pages feeling that great principles had been established. The lectures of Brown are highly finished rhetorical essays, or pleasing exhibitions of his social capacities, or of his power of subtle and most attenuated analysis. But has he not done great injustice to the human mind? Is the mysterious soul to be examined like the substances of chemistry? It is lamentable to think how many ingenuous youth for the last ten or fifteen years have been condemned to pore over the pages of Brown and Stewart—never dreaming of the glorious lands which lie beyond the barren theories of the Scotch metaphysicians.

It would be unbecoming in us to detract at all from the just claims of Paley, Reid, Stewart, and Brown. But we cannot cease to deplore the evils which have resulted from their long ascendancy. Paley was at home in the *Horæ Paulinæ*, but he was never made for a mental philosopher. Would that Scotch writers, after they had rejected the Aristotelian logic, had shaken off the bondage to theory and system, and with humble patience, and with deep dependence on the great Source of Mind, had studied their intellectual and moral natures as the holy Leighton studied the divine word, and his own spiritual being. What rich harvests might have now waved around us! What Serbonian bogs might we not have shunned. How powerful might not the periodical press have become. Standing on the firm basis of a right philosophy, with what authority and power, might it not have uttered its criticisms and announced its decisions.

Such seem to us to be the principal reasons of the depressed condition of the periodical press. To maintain its proper rank and exert its legitimate influence, its resources must be concentrated, its conductors must receive an appropriate education, and the doctrines of literature and philosophy

must be defined, and well established. The enlightened community must be made sensible that they have an important duty to perform in giving an ample support to a well conducted press. The real grounds of the influence of this organ need to be understood and properly appreciated. The whole civilized world ought to become conscious that they have in their hands an engine, whose right action will ensure a perfectibility in the human condition of which philosophy has as yet hardly dreamed.

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### ARTICLE VIII.

#### MOUNT AUBURN.

THE sentence of death began to be fulfilled in the murder of a human being by his brother. Not by disease, nor by casualty, in its first instance, but "*by man* came death." Man, who was to be the subject of death and its terrors through all his generations, with his own hand brought in the destroyer and taught him by a first example, that his eye should never pity nor his hand spare. As death was in consequence of sin, it was natural and striking that sin rather than disease should have been most nearly concerned in its first entrance to the world. The race were hereby early taught that their transgression was to prove an evil and a bitter thing, while they saw the rapidity with which sin proceeds from small beginnings to the perpetration of monstrous crimes.

There is reason to believe that the feelings in Cain's heart which at length impelled him to the murder of Abel, were excited in him by a rejection of the atonement. Abel brought unto the Lord the firstlings of his flock; Cain, the produce of the ground. "But without the shedding of blood there is no remission." The early use of bloody sacrifice shows that the appointment and office of the Lamb of God were understood; and the rebuke upon Cain shows that his sin consisted in refusing to bring a typical offering. "And



the Lord said unto Cain, Why art thou wroth? If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? And if not, a *sin-offering* lieth at the door." He would not bring a sin-offering; while he was willing to offer that which as a husbandman he could bring without much effort, he did not feel such reverence for the appointment of God, or such conviction of his need of expiatory sacrifice, as would have led him to offer a lamb. His heart was too proud to bear the softening effect of an innocent creature bleeding and dying to show forth his desert as a sinner, and teaching him that his lofty soul must consent to be saved, if at all, by a vicarious sacrifice. In this state of mind he could neither bear the gentle remonstrance of Abel, nor look upon his accepted altar but with malignant feelings; and murder followed. Cain was a Deist; for he "believed not the record which God gave" in Paradise "of his Son." If this be true, it is to be remembered that the first entrance of death was in connection with a rejection of the Saviour. The hand of unbelief opened the dark valley, and unbelief has continued to fill its gloomy passage with spirits without hope.

Since the death of Abel, millions have passed into eternity. "The number of the dead long exceedeth all that shall live. The night of time far surpasseth the day, and who knows when was the equinox?"\* The earth is supposed to change its inhabitants once in thirty-three years; that is, within that length of time, reckoning from any point, there will be as many deaths as there were people upon the earth when the thirty-three years began. Whole generations have passed from the earth into silence. Of millions that have reigned or served, rejoiced or wept, the great, the ignoble, the proud, the wise, no trace is to be found, and the places which knew them, know them no more. "All these are passed away like a shadow, and as a post that hasteth by; and as a ship that passeth over the waves of the water, which when it is gone by, the trace thereof cannot be found, neither the pathway of the keel in the waves; or like as when an arrow is shot at a mark, it parteth the air, which immediately cometh together again, so that a man cannot know where it went through; even so they as soon as they were born began to draw to their end."†

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\* Sir T. Browne, *Hydriotaphia*, Preface.

† Wisdom of Solomon, v. 9, 10, 12, 13.

It is a natural feeling which leads us to fix a visible memorial of a departed friend at the spot where we saw him return to the earth;—just as we fixed the place in our sight and mind where, when living and at a temporary separation, he disappeared from our view. Therefore a mound is raised upon his bed, and the tall or humble monument impersonates his form to our minds, and re-unites his separated being. Affection for the dead, expressed by a care for the resting places of their bodies, existed in great simplicity and beauty amongst the Jewish patriarchs. One of the most touching passages of sacred history is that which describes Abraham's purchase of a burying-place for Sarah, of Ephron the Hittite. The aged and venerable mourner stood up from before his dead and asked of the sons of Heth, with whom he was a sojourner, a place for Sarah's grave. No one can read without emotion the words that followed—the generous offer of the men of the land, the respectful and courteous reply of the patriarch, or observe the honorable pride and delicacy which forbade his taking a sepulchre for his wife that cost him nothing, his selection, at their request, of a favorite spot, and his refusal to bury his dead till he had weighed the silver. The simple description of the spot shows that it was a cave in a grove, which was itself shut in by a border of trees. This became the family tomb of the patriarchs. Jacob, when dying, was anxious to secure a resting place in this sepulchre, and gave, as a reason, to his sons, "There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife, there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife, and there I buried Leah."

Of all the burying-places and sepulchres for the dead, there is no one to be compared to the sea. Such multitudes are gathered together there, that in the apostle's vision of the resurrection, one of its scenes could not fail to be this: "And the sea gave up the dead which were in it." The sea is the burying-place of the old world; to them have been added thousands from the new, out of every clime and generation. The loss of a friend at sea, occasions peculiar affliction, not only because of the separation from the sympathy and care of friends in the trying hour, but because the imagination is left to picture distressing events attending the death and burial;—the slowly sinking form, the ship that had paused to leave it in the deep, sailing on; the under currents taking it into their restless courses, till perhaps it is

brought to the shores of its own home, or cast upon the rocks of a foreign land, or upon some lone island, or sunk to rest to the bottom of the deep, "with the earth and her bars about it forever." At the family tomb and the frequented grave, sorrow can make a definite complaint; but to weep through sleepless nights when the storm carries the accustomed thoughts to the sea, which had long detained the expected friend, and now is known to have his form somewhere in its unrelenting holds, is affliction that receives new poignancy each time that the excited imagination presents a new image of distress or terror. But could we divest ourselves of the natural disposition to dwell upon the sad associations of such a burial, we might feel that there is much attending it to awaken sublime and pious emotions. No remains seem to be so peculiarly in the care of God, as those of one that is buried in the sea. The fact that "no man knoweth of his sepulchre," leads the thoughts directly to God as the guardian of the dead, and makes us feel that as He only knew his lying down, He has taken him into his peculiar protection. "The sea is His;" its graves are all before him, and the forms which sleep there are as safe for the resurrection, as any that repose in the monumental tomb.

All nations have ever had a strong attachment to some peculiar method of disposing of their dead. The origin of many customs relating to funeral rites, may be found in some religious or philosophical sentiment. The ancient Greeks believed that the soul's original element was fire; and burning was with them a coveted honor. They regarded water burial, of course, as annihilation; hence Diomedes, in revenge of the death of Thersites, whom Achilles slew for ridiculing his sorrow over Penthesilia, the Amazonian queen, dragged her body out of the camp, and threw it into the Scamander. Many of the ancient European nations practised burning; the Danes, Norwegians, Gauls, as also the Getæ and Thracians; some of the most warlike doing it perhaps to save their bodies from the malice of their enemies, as well as in the belief of the purifying nature of fire, and its preparation of them for ethereal happiness. The Egyptians, who of all nations seemed to strive the most after terrestrial immortality, as their mausoleums and pyramids teach us, contended against the dissolution of the body by the art of embalming. This desire for the perpetuity of their remains, led them to

dread funereal burning, and therefore when Cambyzes had inflicted every indignity upon Amasis, the Egyptian king, he satisfied his revenge by giving him up to the fire. The nations that worshipped fire, such as the Chaldeans and Persians, considered the burning of a dead body as a desecration of their sacred element. The Ichthyophagi, an Ethiopian people, so called from their subsisting upon fish, having their existence as they supposed, and certainly their means of subsistence, from the sea, made the sea their place of burial. The Scythians chose the air as their burying place. Some nations, anxious only for the preservation of the bones, expose their dead to the dogs and vultures. The practice in Christendom of the burial in the earth of the entire body, is most in accordance with the will and sentence of God:—"For out of it wast thou taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return."

The common burial places, which at short intervals every where arrest the eye of the traveller in this part of the country, are rude and irregular. The occasional presence of a white marble stone, amongst the prevailing head stones of grey and moss grown slate, only shows more distinctly the negligence and poverty of the place. There is the same appearance of confusion and ruin amongst the graves as we fancy when the Psalmist says, "Our bones are scattered at the grave's mouth." The arrangement of the graves seems to have been left with the grave-digger, who appears to have had Job's description of Hades in his mind, and to have purposely made his little domain in correspondence with it, "A land without order." When grief has in a measure subsided, and the surviving relative could with composure attend to the permanent resting place of the body, the place where it was laid has become sanctified, and a removal except as a matter of necessity, is ungrateful to the mind. Hence, "as the tree falleth so it lies," and the sequestered field presents a rough, uncomely sight; but the chastened feeling of awe, and the involuntary disposition to silence, which the place occasions, prevents the expression and almost the feeling of dissatisfaction at the want of taste which in different circumstances would not be seen without reproof. Want of order in a grave-yard seems as natural as for violent grief to be dishevelled; the contrary seems like composed mourning and a studied sorrow.



There is a spot within a few miles of Boston, which is destined to be distinguished as a burying-place. "Sweet Auburn" was familiarly known as a place of favorite resort; its shady and intricate retreats, affording opportunity for social or solitary rambles, and its botanic richness a field for pastime and study. The place has been purchased by an Association, and consecrated as a cemetery with the name of *Mount Auburn*. Its distant appearance was formerly better than at present, many of the trees now being removed. It looked like a large mound rather than a hill, its central elevation being surrounded by deep glens and vallies, whose tree tops preserved a regular ascent, and reduced the otherwise prominent height of the centre to the slope of a large dome. It always seemed as though it were destined to some important and solemn use. From the bridge across Charles river in Cambridge, at sunset, when the horizontal light rayed into it, and the glowing western sky showed in relief the quick motion of the leaves in the fresh evening air, it has appeared like a solemn and mournful place enlivened against its will by the voices and joy of a multitude, and showing, as it assumed its natural shades, that it was of a melancholy and sorrowing spirit. Now, its dense woods are thinned, and from the common road to the place and within a fraction of a mile where the last house on the left leaves the view unbroken, you see a large white object with a black centre peering out from the side of a hill, the nature and object of which a stranger is not at a loss to know as the Egyptian Portal of the grounds appears before him with its inscription, "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return to God who gave it."

There have been a large number of avenues and paths laid through the place. The paths wind through romantic recesses. It was with a peculiar sensation that we walked through the place when the avenues were first made. It was like viewing a great but mournful conquest. Man had invaded a hitherto sacred and safe retreat, and the axe and ploughshare had let in the common sun. The turf had just been removed from the ways, exposing a glebe made rich by the decay of a thousand autumns. The robins were rejoicing over a strange supply of food. The sound of the workman's implements from different parts of the place showed that 'Sweet Auburn' was no longer a safe retreat, and the sudden appearance of a trench, with blocks of granite near, and other

preparations for a tomb, made known the change that had taken place in the character of this beautiful retirement.

The avenues and paths are designated by the names of different trees, shrubs and vines. There is, amongst others, the Sweetbriar path, the Hawthorn path, the Beech avenue, the Sumac path, the Ivy, Catalpa, Hazel, and Woodbine paths, and the Larch avenue. These names add greatly to the interest of the place, and being all of a woodland or rural kind, and meeting you suddenly, occasion not only an agreeable surprise, but a softened and continually changing pleasure, corresponding to your associations with the name of the tree, shrub or vine. Walking through one of the broad avenues soon after the opening of the grounds, we entered the 'Hemlock Path.' This name being found so often in connection with 'Night-shade,' prepares the mind to see a correspondence with the latter in the path itself, which is immediately realized. Some of the trees have lately been removed, but once it was the most solemn and impressive spot in the inclosure. It was like the valley of the shadow of death. Tall firs stood close together on either side, like the shades of the kings who crowded around the king of Babylon, as he entered Hades, saying, "Art thou become like unto us?" The thick branches let in a fretted light, and pale by its reflection from the sickly green of the undergrowth. A constant murmur in the tops, like the noise of the sea-shore, adds greatly to the impression of the place. It is a spot in which a visiter will either pause to meditate, or hasten through with all possible speed.

In one part of the ground, a large pool of water has been made an ornament to the place, by taking away its feculent matter, and laying around its margin a border of turf. The natural shape of the pool has been preserved, and its green, bended margin is a pleasant sight. Here we have seen in a clear morning the most distinct reflections of trees and sky that we have ever beheld,—the depth of the valley shutting out the wind, and the shaded light falling on the surface in just the degree to make it a perfect mirror. There are several smaller pools, over which foot bridges have been thrown. Here the ground is in a state of cultivation, and displays much taste and skill.

The surface of Mount Auburn is so broken that it is difficult to find a level from which to estimate the height of the summit. It is calculated, however, to be about fifty feet,

measuring from the nearest level of any considerable extent. It has been proposed to build an observatory upon the elevation, and we doubt not that subscriptions for this purpose could be easily obtained. The prospect from the summit, except in the fall or spring, is obscured by the foliage; but from an observatory there would be an uninterrupted and noble view of the surrounding country. Towards the north, there is an extensive woodland, enclosing a large and well known pond; and further still, in the midst of the woodland scenery, are some of the dwellings and the spire of West Cambridge. Turning to the north and east, there is the university, and Cambridge village, and nearly to the eastward a part of the city is seen through the trees. The sound from its streets, and the noise of wheels over its bridges, is distinctly heard in a still day, and forms a contrast to the suppressed and whispering sound of the trees around the summit. There, all is life and activity, and voices loud in business or joy; and here is the repose of the dead, who "have no more a portion in all that is done under the sun; also their love and their hatred and their envy is now perished."

The number of tombs is rapidly increasing in the cemetery, not only from the constant multiplication of the dead, but from the anticipations of many who build desolate places for themselves. Many of the tombs are surmounted with handsome marble or granite, bearing the family name, and in some instances the names of the few that have been laid there to rest. Affection has here and there enclosed the spot with flowering shrubs, and has otherwise marked the place by the careful preparations with which the love that survives the tomb is oftentimes expressed. We doubt not that to many there is a spot in these grounds which next to the fireside is more endeared than any spot on earth; and whither, in the intervals of business, and in the watches of the night, the thoughts involuntarily wander. If it is possible by natural means to lose the dreadful associations of dissolution in the grave, a burial in some one of the lovely places of Mount Auburn seems sure to assist it. All that meets the eye there above and around the grave, is pure and beautiful. Either the Spring is playing there, like an unconscious child; or Summer is spreading out her thousand diversions of grief; or Autumn, by a general decay, gives the heart an impression of universal sympathy; or Winter, that seems to

disinfect the grave, relieves the thoughts for a season from their unpleasant associations, and gives a feeling of security by the protection of its mighty cold and frost. As we must return to dust, it is not unpleasant to some to feel that they can mingle with one of the loveliest places of earth, and be surrounded in death by the manifold proofs of the wisdom and love of an omnipresent God. "For," as was said by the woman of Tekoa to David, "though we must needs die, and are as water spilt upon the ground which cannot be gathered up again, neither doth God regard any person, yet" in such a burial place as this, full of his presence, "doth he devise means that his banished be not expelled from him;" and if Hagar could say in a desert, "Thou God seest me," a place like this is fitted to make us feel that death does not separate the body from the care of God. Here his common providence, displayed in the works of his hands, is manifest wherever you turn; and the products of his wisdom and skill, springing forth profusely from the grave of saint and sinner, illustrate an important principle of his administration. Is there in the inclosure the grave of one who lived and died without God? There the flowers unfold as rich perfumes and hues, the birds are as cheerful and thrilling in their songs, the winds are as mild, the grass as unstained, and the sun looks through the trees as gladly as at the grave of one who died in hope. Thus He maketh his sun to rise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth his rain upon the just and unjust. One event happeneth to the righteous and the wicked. Hence this is not a state of reward, or if it be, God is indifferent to the distinction between vice and virtue. The natural effects of sin, it is true, show that under his government sin is cursed; but in the common blessings that flow from heaven upon all men, you cannot trace any distinction that they make between the virtuous and the wicked. Hence, there is to be another state of existence after death, and that, a state of rewards; and hence by presumption, the immortality of the soul.

Unless we keep this principle in view, there will be danger that the proofs of the goodness and wisdom of God which fill this cemetery will make the impression that there is no distinction in the final recompense of human character. It is easy to conceive of an enthusiast in natural scenery, of a romantic disposition by frequenting this spot and indulging in his reveries, at last receiving it as his permanent belief, that



the peace which reigns over the dead in these grounds is an earthly counterpart to a celestial peace into which every departed soul is received ; and that the same goodness of God which is bursting forth in all these leaves and flowers as with an anxious effort to impress the heart of man, is the protector and friend of the spirit, and that these representations of the love of God at the grave are an assurance that the same love is in manifestation to the spirit within the vail. Then it is no difficult thing for such an one to persuade himself that he loves God, when in fact there is no difference in the emotions which he calls love to God from the feelings which he has towards the avenues and paths and the summit of Mount Auburn. Beautiful and grand as nature is, her glory and riches are not so great as those of the Bible, nor is she so good an interpreter of the character and will of God, nor as a revealer of the future. God has magnified his word above all his name ; his natural attributes, seen in the products of his wisdom and love, are not capable of exciting such emotions as the Christian feels when he reads concerning Him that he is gracious and merciful, long-suffering and slow to anger, abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty. Indeed nature is likely to give us some false impressions. Nature is, to a great extent, what it was when God pronounced it very good ; for though there are vegetable and animal poisons, and thorns and thistles, indicating that the world is in a lapsed state, the general impression which it makes is the same that it made in Paradise, that man is upright, and in the love of God ; wherein we see a proof of the forbearance and mercy of God : for if upon the fall of man all nature had fallen ; if every animal had become injurious, the fruits of the earth unpleasant, and all the hues and harmonies of the world had passed into one dull color and one monotonous sound, life would have been a state of torment. On the contrary, notwithstanding the race has departed from God, he still surrounds them with the proofs of his goodness in the instances of his wisdom and power, which if we should count them are more in number than the sands upon the sea shore. But if a man looks upon these things, which fill the place of the dead, as well as the garden and field, and argues from them that God makes no distinction in human character, and that after death one reward cometh to the righteous and to

the wicked, to him that served God, and him that served him not, he perverts the great mercy of Jehovah to his own injury ; he despises the riches of his goodness and forbearance, and long-suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth to repentance.

But if any one would impress his mind still more deeply with the truth, " All thy works praise thee," let him visit this spot, find out one of its most hidden places, where he may suppose no human eye has looked before, and observe that even that place is full of the proofs of infinite wisdom in the structure of some flower, or leaf, or moss, which he will find there. The hidden places of creation are full of perfect beauty ; a profuse luxuriance covers its unseen recesses ; the earth and sea are teeming with unknown wonders, all perfect as instances of beautiful workmanship from the Creator. An illustration of this all have seen in a piece of coal, bearing the colors of the rainbow ; it came from the sides of a river, and perhaps was mined below the water-level, and from its creation had been shut up where it seemed that it could never be discovered. Why did God fill that dark place with such apparently useless skill and beauty ? and the question is applicable to the whole internal structure of the earth, and the depths of the sea. The answer is in the words of inspiration : " As for God, his work is perfect." God cannot act otherwise than with exquisite beauty. He is an overflowing fountain of all that is glorious and good ; and because there is no room upon the surface of the earth and sea and heavens for further stores of his wisdom and benevolence, He fills up the dark places of the earth and sea, and the measureless depths of the heavens with his wonderful works. When in such a place as Mount Auburn, we find some natural curiosity, as a plant or flower, which, from its situation, seemed intended to spring and bloom unseen, a feeling of the spontaneous goodness of God, and of his benevolent nature comes to the heart, which is a shield against a thousand suggestions of unbelief arising from the mysteries of his providence. And if God acts from the principles of wisdom and goodness, in places where he is unseen, and fills the parts of his creation which can never be laid open, with the same rich beauty and skill, because He will always be consistent with his eternal conceptions of what is good, man should learn a lesson from Him, to be the same every where that he would choose to be in the sight of his fellows, and

to have all his actions proceed from a deep, uncompromising conviction of duty, and a love of what is right, rather than from a hope of reward.

We frequently meet with the impression that death is to be looked upon as a great calamity, and since it is unavoidable, that we must endeavor to meet it with fortitude. All possible means of divesting it of terror, are resorted to by those whose constitutional fear of dying will not permit the indifference in which many seek to drown the thoughts of the future. Such a place as Mount Auburn will assist many in loosing those apprehensions of death which are the result of an awakened conscience and an anxious mind. In taking away some of the unpleasant associations which they have with death and the grave, it will be likely to soothe many a fear which can be entirely removed only by religion with its hope of immortality. It will seem to some a pleasant thing to lie down in a spot which they have loved so much, and which has become familiar to them as the depository of many objects of their affection. Its tendency will thus be to obscure the future, to fill the mind with a sentimental materialism, and make dying appear as a repose amidst evergreens, and a slumber deepened by the shades and music of a lovely grove. There is a disposition in every cultivated mind not thoroughly imbued with religious sentiments, and that habitually neglects the Bible, to form a sentimental or philosophic theory concerning death as a shield against the impressions of truth which intercourse with religious minds and the events of the providence of God make upon them. In this cemetery many will find composure to a troubled conscience because of the soothing influence of its scenery, and the pleasing seriousness which it will awaken and with which an inquiring mind averse to the truth will be very apt to be satisfied. Here too it is possible that many will acquire that indifference to death by becoming familiar with it under fascinating associations, which on their dying beds will be regarded by friends, anxious to catch the least token of pious feeling, as Christian resignation. Many may thus be brought to this cemetery of whom it may be said that they died entirely resigned to the will of God, when the real causes of that feeling which was called resignation, and which, in answer to anxious questionings, and from a desire to gratify the survivors, expressed itself in a few calm words,

were, a conscious inability to contend against superior strength in the disorder, the opiate influence of relief from pain, and the influence of medicine. But we trust that amongst those who sleep here the number will not be small, who, in view of approaching death and an entrance into the presence of God, will show the difference between the stupor of approaching dissolution, and a joyful submission of themselves into the hands of God, with a desire to depart and be with Christ. As no resignation is virtuous which proceeds from necessity, rather than from a decided preference of the will of God to our own, no influence of such a place as this cemetery, in preparing us for death, which does not operate by bringing us to a better acquaintance with God, and a desire to be with Him, can be approved by a religious mind.

Many would have been pleased with a different inscription upon the porch. The present inscription, *Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it*, impresses the mind with great solemnity, but cheers it, it is said, with nothing of that hope which the gospel inspires. The passage, it is added, may dwell in the mind of a mourner or of a visiter at the place, without giving him any other feeling than that the body must go to the grave, and the soul to the place of spirits. It was, without doubt, the intention of the wise man in these words to make this impression upon the reader, that while his body must moulder in the dust, his soul shall survive the tomb; and therefore that an attention to religion, as recommended in the beginning of the chapter, is of the utmost importance. We think, on the whole, that the inscription is well chosen, and that it is a delightful proof, coming, as the passage does, from the Old Testament, that the holy men of old, were no strangers to the consolations and hopes of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

The appearance of cultivated flowers in the enclosure is not at first entirely in keeping with the associations of the place. Every thing that is not indigenous to the spot, seems as though it must be of an unnatural or sickly nature. There may be some private reason for placing a particular flower or shrub at the grave of a friend; but the rearing of flowers for mere ornament or for any other purpose than the one just specified, seems like life amidst corruption, or the intrusion of art amidst the wildness of nature.

Mount Auburn will no doubt hereafter be celebrated as the



burying-place of distinguished public strangers whose lot may be to die amongst us. It is to be hoped that there will be no backwardness in erecting suitable memorials of those whose lives and characters it would be profitable to keep in remembrance. Distinguished talents or virtues or public services seem to be the requisition by which the question of erecting a monument is decided; but if the object of such memorials of the dead be to profit the living as well as to honor the departed, it would seem desirable that the burying-place of every one, whose life has exerted a good or disastrous influence upon the fortunes or morals of a community, should be designated at least by a plain but conspicuous stone. The words, "Here lies the body of Thomas Paine," in a grave-yard, would probably do as much good in connection with a knowledge of his melancholy and virtually recanting death, as a monument to some noble and virtuous character. A cemetery that should faithfully represent the place of burial and the name of all whose influence had been of a public nature whether good or bad, would be one of the most profitable places for meditation and instruction that could be named. We should then see amongst the dead just what we see amongst the living, the undisguised character and influence of all that reach a good or bad pre-eminence. The grave-yard is too often a place of melancholy deception; not more, however, by the statement of what is not true concerning the departed, than by no statement at all, and by the impression which we thence receive, that death closes up every thing concerning its victim, as well his influence, as his grave and last account; whereas if the resting-places of those who did distinguished good or notorious evil, though in a small sphere, were marked not by a costly nor by an opprobrious sign, but by the name just legible, the mixture of good and evil in life, would be kept before us in death, and the burying-place would be an honest and faithful mirror of the world. There in its still and passionless reflection, we should see just how we live, surrounded by good and evil influences, and ourselves exerting an influence and forming a character which in the contemplation of survivors, will place us amongst the blessings or the injuries to the world. Could we find a burying-place where the man who was eminent as an example and a defender of religion, lay side by side with the notorious infidel and hater of God and the Bible and good men, the virtuous ornament of society

with the debauchee, the wise man with him who in the Bible is called fool, what place on earth could we select, as affording a better opportunity of wholesome study, as a representative of the world of the living, and in a most impressive manner, of that state where he that is unjust shall be unjust still, and he that is holy shall be holy still. To form such a place, however, would cost more of a sacrifice of private feeling in surviving relatives and friends than will ever be realized; for it is natural to wish that the names of those who have dishonored themselves and friends, should be sealed up in oblivion; and on the other hand, no friend of a virtuous man would consent that he should make his grave with the wicked; a nearness to whom, even in death, is commonly regarded as pollution. Mount Auburn can never be such a place as we have pictured. It will always be in possession of those whose relatives and friends will be provided by them with the loveliest resting-places that can be found in the enclosure; affection will at least be silent concerning their failings, and the stone will bear some sacred words concerning "the Resurrection and the Life," or the inheritance beyond the skies, and nothing will meet the eye in this any more than in any other cemetery to make one feel that there is the distinction of character amongst the dead which we know to exist amongst the living; and the impression here, as in similar places, will be, that there is something in dying, or in being dead, which pardons sin and purifies the soul, and brings all, of whatever character, under the compassion of a God of boundless mercy. Therefore if we would profit by a visit to such a place, we must carry with us the impressions which the Bible makes upon our hearts and consciences; for every other source of knowledge concerning God and the future must be corrected by the authorized and sealed commission of divine truth.

This cemetery has already become interesting by the burial of some who were extensively known and loved. Strangers will be attracted to the tombs of several distinguished individuals. The tomb of Dr. Spurzheim is a noble instance of regard to a distinguished man, and does credit to the feelings of those who have honored him, and ornamented the place, with such a stone. There is something in its situation, between two of the walks not far from the entrance of the grounds, which may give rise in the minds of some to a classic recollection, though it will be more in fancy, than in

correspondence with the true meaning of the passage, (Virg. Eclog. ix. 59.)

"Hinc adeo *media est nobis via*; namq; *sepulchrum*  
Incipit apparere Bianoris."—

It is evident from the various specimens of sculpture in these grounds, that the skill of artists will be put in requisition to furnish new and striking exhibitions of that wonderful art, which makes the solid marble bend and wave in lines of grace and beauty, and correspond with the emotions of the soul. No one can fail to be struck with a monument of black marble, as you turn to the left from Spurzheim's tomb. The impression which it makes is one of mingled solemnity and admiration, like the sight of a beautiful nun in black at her vespers. It bears, above the family name, a carved cross, from which we received at first a wrong impression, forgetting that this cemetery is to a Catholic a profane and heathen place, and that to be buried in any other than their own enclosures, is one of the papal curses. It is pleasing to see the emblem of the cross in some other connection than as a badge of papacy; we hope that Protestants will use it more frequently as a sacred device; for a more appropriate sign is hardly known; and it is to be lamented that it should have been so exclusively retained by the Catholics, or that it should be the device of a banner that will not be voluntarily furled, till it waves over our institutions, sanctuaries, homes and graves.

Another interesting object towards the east is a cenotaph, in honor of a young man of talents and great promise, of whom the simple inscription says,

The sea his body, Heaven his spirit, holds.

And here is his unmade tomb, here the record of his name and death, here the place of tears, and the spot where he is remembered and loved; but *he* is not here!

There is one at rest in his tomb in this enclosure, who was known to a large circle of friends, and whose bright prospects were early shut in by death. Having enjoyed every advantage for the improvement of his mind, and of preparation for future usefulness by visiting foreign lands, he returned to the bosom of his family, to die. He came forth as a flower, and was cut down. Here he sleeps in the neighborhood of that seminary where he spent four of the most important years of his

life, and in which he formed attachments of peculiar strength, and where he afterwards loved to come and in the spirit of faithfulness and affection converse upon subjects which had assumed an infinite importance in his mind. Should we now express for him the feelings of anxiety upon the subject of religion with which he left college, his convictions that he had not found a satisfactory and permanent resting place for his hopes for eternity, and his subsequent acquaintance with evangelical truth, and the divine Saviour who is its distinguishing glory and chief corner stone, we should write upon his tomb,

"I was a stricken deer that left the herd  
Long since. With many an arrow deep infix'd  
My panting side was charg'd, when I withdrew  
To seek a tranquil death in distant shades.  
There was I found by one, who had himself  
Been hurt by th' archers. In his side he bore,  
And in his hands and feet the cruel scars.  
With gentle force soliciting the darts  
He drew them forth, and heal'd, and bade me live."

We would studiously avoid even an apparent intrusion upon the privacy of grief, but cannot forbear to speak of one who has found a grave in this enclosure, whose person and accomplishments and amiable character, and her endeared relation to a large circle of acquaintances and friends, together with her opening prospects of life and happiness, made her lamented even by those who were comparatively strangers. Some of the circumstances attending the close of her life, well known to many who did not need relationship or intimacy to make them exquisitely touching, gave an affecting interest to the event. Her sudden and mournful removal was like tearing out a slender but far spreading tendril that had wound itself about beneath a deep and rich vine on the side of a dwelling, and leaving, as it came away, its place of repose disfigured and torn beyond the help of future suns and showers. It seems sometimes that death is commissioned to seek out a victim whose departure, more than that of any other, will mock at the sympathies and endearments, and the store of blessings near at hand, which make dying seem, for a season at least, impossible. How like a ruthless enemy, glad, if the sufferings which he can occasion may be aggravated by private and peculiar circumstances, does the last enemy frequently appear! And yet, if our friends are young and fascinating, and in possession or in



the immediate prospect of all that earth can give, must they for this reason be exempted from the application of the Saviour's counsel, "*Be ye also ready; for in such an hour as ye think not, the Son of man cometh*"? Are not such instances of sudden and surprising removal by death, in exact fulfilment of these words, and ordered by Him who sees fit to instruct us by examples? And if we whose hearts at any time bleed at his stroke, are instructed and saved, shall we not give thanks at last that God did teach us by his rod the lessons that we would not be induced to learn by the sceptre of his mercy?

The addition of this cemetery to the already numberless places for the reception of the dead, cannot fail to impress the mind with the rapidity with which the present generation is following those that have gone before us to the tomb. In the midst of death, therefore, we should not think that some strange thing had happened to us; and yet how apt we are to feel, in our bereavements, that our case is peculiar;—either the child, husband, wife, or friend, was such as was never known before, or our dependence upon them for happiness and our need of them was greater than in almost any other case, or the circumstances under which they were removed, were a combination of trials most aggravated and distressing; whereas the same calamities, in equally distressing forms, have doubtless been the lot of thousands in past generations, and will be in generations to come of thousands more. When called to the loss of friends, or when we anticipate our own death under possible circumstances of great distress, it quiets the mind to think that the great, and wise, and good, they who were peculiarly the objects of the love of God, have been through similar distressing scenes of personal or relative affliction, and we are almost ashamed to hope for exemption, or even to complain. The consideration of the sufferings and death of all that have lived, is also a means of comfort in leading us to think of Him without whom none of them have fallen to the ground. That wonderful specimen of elegiac eloquence, the ninetieth psalm, the prayer of Moses the man of God, begins, as most of the meditative parts of Scripture do, with the conclusion to which the train of thought in the psalm had brought the writer's mind.\* He

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\* The conclusion to which the train of thought in the seventy-third psalm had brought the writer, is contained in the first verse, "*Truly God is good to Israel.*"

had been surveying the universal ravages of death, and the thought which had impressed him in considering the sufferings and death of the world, and particularly of holy men who were not exempted, was, the Eternal Refuge which had given them all protection:—"Lord thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations." However peculiar and strange our trials may appear to us, there is One who has sympathized with thousands in times of equal sorrow, and knows how to succor the afflicted. The patient, writhing with pain, is often quieted when the physician tells him that he has seen worse cases, and has oftentimes relieved such anguish as the patient thinks is beyond endurance or cure.

The mention of the psalm just quoted may be a sufficient reason for relating an incident, which is this moment brought forcibly to mind, and which illustrates another part of it. Approaching the White Hills, early in a fine morning last July, in one of the neighboring towns and upon the high road, there appeared at some distance a small collection of men leading two horses, and bearing a burden which was entirely white. As they came near, one man was leading a horse, four men supported a bier covered with a sheet, and another horse followed. The eyes of the men were raised to see who were passing by, and their countenances solemn as the grave, their silent and hasty step, the appearance of the horses before and behind, the suddenness of the whole scene, the stillness of the morning, and the previous feeling of awe, of which every one is conscious in approaching the Hills, made an impression upon the mind like an unearthly vision. Soon a woman followed with a cup, who answered the questions put to her, by saying or rather crying, "It is my poor son; he was taken sick in the village some time ago, and wished to go home to die;"—with a few other most affecting incidents. She hastened to administer her cordial while the men rested their burden upon the horses; and then the little company were out of sight. If the mind had just before been dwelling upon this verse in the above psalm, "Before the *mountains* were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting thou art God," how singular did it appear, and in what accordance with this scene, that the very next verse should be, "*Thou turnest man to destruction and sayest, Return ye children of men.*" Standing at the Notch House, and looking upon the burial-place of the lost family, the

connection of those two verses was again impressed upon the mind. The object in the immediate connection of the two passages, doubtless was, to impress man with a sense of his frail and perishable nature compared with God's eternity, and by humbling, to make him susceptible of adoring views of his Creator, and of his need of an eternal dwelling-place and refuge in God.

The world renews its infancy with every successive generation. The learned and the experienced die, and leave but a small portion of their experience and wisdom behind them; and much even of this is soon forgotten. A new race follows on, with the same number of mistakes and errors, though with increased facilities in the arts and with new inventions. But the *mind* of the world is not by any means matured with the advance of time. In order that the world may grow old in wisdom as in years, it is necessary that the aged and venerable should live, with unimpaired faculties, and thus give character to their times. Such a golden period, however, can never be realized, while 'death reigns. This will always be an imperfect state; instead of multiplied and towering monuments of the world's wisdom, we shall see new cemeteries splendidly adorned with the multiplied memorials of the great and good who shall have perished out of the earth. Mount Auburn, for instance, now showing here and there a tomb in a hidden recess, and at such a distance from the others that a familiar acquaintance with the grounds, or a diligent search, is necessary to find it, will soon be filled with the dead, and its numerous trees will so far have yielded to the encroachments of death, that "a child may write them." The light of day will shine upon a sepulchre, where for centuries life in its beautiful but hidden forms of insect, bird, or flower, has held an undisturbed possession. Thus death, in the expressive language of the Bible, *reigns*; and all things are subject to his dominion.

In walking over the cemetery there is something oppressive in the hush of the place. The effect of it is not that of mere silence, but of *reserve*; you know that the place is peopled, you cannot lose the impression that there are conscious beings here, who are conversant with the scenes of the other world, but who will not break silence upon matters concerning which you long for a disclosure. They seem purposely to be keeping information from you which they

might easily impart. An awful spell or charm binds them to eternal silence. One word, one glimpse, is all that you would ask ; but you hear or see nothing except the sighing wind or moving shadow. The veil between you and your friends is impenetrable, and however they may have knowledge concerning you, their grave or tomb with their senseless form below and their silent name above, is the last trace that you can find of them on earth. But the silence and reserve of the place is by no means a true representation of their unseen state. There, all is active, conscious life, quickened sensibility, spiritualized perception, memory and conscience in busy exercise, and every emotion of the soul awakened to receive the fruit of their doings. *They* are not dead : we are dead, but they live. Every hour that passes on brings over them some new sensation. The light and power of truth, seen without error, falls upon their souls, and secret impressions and lost convictions live again, as its attraction or compulsion, operates upon their holy or sinful spirits. No one of them has ceased to think of us ; and they think of us in connection with our destiny for an everlasting existence. They know how we lived when they were with us ; and they judge of our conduct, opinions, and feelings in regard to religion, with the consequences of this life blazing around them. They know the truth or error of our thoughts and feelings ; and if they see that we are in error, how anxious must they be to return and whisper warning and instruction in our ears. Yet it is an assurance which confirms our confidence in the Bible, that we have in it all that is necessary for us to know concerning the truth and the future. Its messages come to us in our calm and thoughtful hours, without the agitating effect of a supernatural appearance, and without removing the opportunity of believing upon the simple declaration of God. He that searcheth the heart and trieth the reins has declared, that if we will not hear Moses and the Prophets, neither should we be persuaded though one rose from the dead.

If there should be a historian a thousand years hence who could write the history of Mount Auburn, detailing the death-scenes of all who shall have been buried there, the mourning, lamentation, and wo of thousands of families for the loss of the lovely child, the husband, the father, the wife, the mother ; that should number up the broken hearts of widows and fatherless children, of youthful friends left desolate and for-



lorn by the objects of their fond affections and hopes, and show us by magic the world of the dead ;—the description of its present appearance in the opening of the history would seem like the picture of a fresh and blooming child in the room of a decrepit dying creature, who sat for that likeness in his early days ; and the history itself would give an inhabitant of another world the impression that the earth and its inhabitants were under a curse from the Almighty. Such fearful signs of devastation and sorrow would there be seen, as would harrow up the soul with unutterable dismay. Yet are not we standing, all of us, in the place of such an historian, in reference to ages already passed away ? and as we think of hundreds of millions that have died, and the scenes of distress of which they have been the occasion, the earth seems like a house of mourning, and the individuals of past generations in their turn the mourners and the lamented. Some great calamity has befallen the race, and occurring as it has under the administration of one whose justice and goodness are perfect, it must in some way be the consequence of our own misdoings. We admire the full yet brief account of the connection of our present state of suffering and death with moral evil : “ By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned.” In a house of mourning or in the grave yard, it may seem to some a dreadful thing, that the condition of a race should have been made to depend upon the conduct of one man ; but when we think if each of the race had come into the world to stand or fall upon his own trial, that as many might have sinned and suffered as under the present constitution, and that it is better for us that it should be the object of our probation to see whether we will accept of mercy through the atonement and the righteousness of a mediator, and then be secured for ever from sin and punishment, than whether we will remain holy, with the liability every moment of falling, like angels and Adam, from purity and bliss, who would not prefer to be as he is and to have the world as it is ;—especially when so small a portion as is seen of the ways of God, leads us to the confident belief that he will soon astonish us with the wisdom and goodness of his plan ; and in showing us the connection between our sufferings in consequence of sin, and the increased good of the universe as well as of ourselves, wipe away all tears from our eyes !

To have a friend go before us to heaven, is of all things best fitted to make heaven familiar to our minds. Constituted as we are with the sympathies of human nature, it is impossible but that the thought of heaven, as the abode of one whom we have familiarly known and loved, should give the anticipation of it a new power, by divesting it of the strangeness with which an unknown place is presented to our thoughts.

“ Our dying friends are pioneers, to smooth  
Our rugged pass to death : to break those bars  
Of terror and abhorrence nature throws  
Cross our obstructed way, and thus to make  
Welcome, as safe, our port from every storm.”\*

In closing our contemplations of MOUNT AUBURN, how can we forbear to speak of it as destined to be a place of unutterable interest and solemnity at the world's last day. The time is coming when the multitudes who will throng these graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God ; and they that hear shall live. This place will be one of peculiar interest as the scene of the resurrection not so much of a promiscuous multitude as of families. Then the family-tomb will open its long closed gate, and the whole household of its dead will keep silence no more. There will then be a recognition of each by all, with looks and words of intense meaning. The father and mother will hang upon the child and the child upon the parents, and brothers and sisters and husbands and wives will embrace as though they had returned from distant climes. No imagination can conceive of the transport in such a circle, if it is found that all are in the number of those that awake to everlasting life. No separation is thenceforth to be made amongst them ; they are to spend eternity together in the employments and bliss of heaven. On the other hand, whole families may come forth with every kind of emotion but that of joyful transport ; for “ of them that sleep in the dust of the earth, some shall awake to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.” How different on that day will be the feelings of many who make this place a scene of Sabbath breaking, and of thoughtless mirth ; wasting here that time in sin, of which at that day one hour will not be found for prayer and repentance though they seek it carefully, with tears. How

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\* Night Thoughts, N. III.

blessed will they be who awake from these tombs and recognize this as the former scene of their pious contemplation, and of their preparation to meet their God in peace. The Son of God will then proceed to summon each family before Him: those of its members who may have been scattered in the earth or sea, will have heard his voice and come forth; and they will stand together and look upon him who was once the Saviour and is now to be the Judge of the world. Blessed are they who will then have that Judge for their friend, and who, when "He cometh with clouds and every eye shall see Him, and they also that pierced Him, and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of Him," will be able to say, "Lo! this is our God; we have waited for him and he will save us; this is the Lord; we will rejoice and be glad in his salvation." Blessed are they who for the profession of their belief in him before men, will be confessed by him before his Father and his holy angels.

Whenever we enter the consecrated cemetery, let us remember that it is one day to be to us, if we sleep there, the scene of unutterable emotions, and that we are now forming the character with which we shall awake at the morning of the resurrection, and which will make our tomb the threshold of an eternity of joy or sorrow. Blessed are those families whose members shall each of them die in the Lord, and thus preserve the beloved circle unbroken, and when the night of death has passed away, shall send up from their tomb their united morning hymn, and enter together into that home where earthly love shall be crowned with an everlasting consummation.

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## ARTICLE IX.

### MORAL REFORM.

MORAL REFORM, in a more general sense, would comprehend the object of all benevolent effort, both human and divine. The great purpose—ostensibly, at the least—of every individual who labors to ameliorate the condition of

markind, whether it be by instructing them, or improving their physical condition, is their moral elevation and advancement. In this view, all our social institutions—families, schools, lyceums, colleges, churches, and benevolent associations; all our teachers, ministers, printing presses, and pulpits, statutes and penalties—nay, all the doctrines and discipline of Heaven itself, are, or should be, but so many instruments and agents in the grand work of human elevation and reform.

Of late, however, it has been customary to use the phrase *moral reform* in a much more restricted sense, as embracing one department only—though by no means a narrow one—of benevolent effort. The decree of public sentiment having gone forth against intemperance in the use of distilled spirits, philanthropic individuals were led to extend their inquiries, and it has been found that there are other forms of intemperance, very prevalent;—that there are other abuses of the animal appetites, than an indulgence in the use of spirituous and fermented liquors. The press, and even the pulpit, are already beginning to awake to the importance of yielding obedience, nationally and individually, to all the commands of the decalogue, as well as to nine-tenths of them.

Foremost in effort, through the press, has been a monthly journal, in one of our sister cities. This journal has labored long and hard, boldly and fearlessly, to drag the master vice which it aims at, so far into the light of day, and expose it so far to the public gaze, as to rouse the public sentiment, and lead to its extermination. To this end the journal has been widely circulated, either gratuitously or otherwise, and has undoubtedly contributed to spread, largely, a knowledge of the extent of the evils in question. At the same time, several other periodicals have lent a helping hand, and two or three volumes have appeared, either in part or wholly devoted to this subject, in some of its various branches. Nor should it be forgotten that in several of our cities, courses of lectures have been given in aid of the same object. As the result, at least in part, of this diffusion of light in the community, several associations of public spirited individuals have sprung up, in different parts of the country, generally under the name of societies for promoting moral reform.

Now these efforts, so far as they are judicious, should be hailed by every friend of God or his country, as indications of great good. Nor is it always easy to determine, in our



first efforts to rouse the public mind to a great, and growing, and dangerous evil, how far prudence requires that we should go, and when and where we overstep the confines of safety, to the defeat, ultimately, of our dearest and most laudable purposes. It is not yet proved that there may not exist a necessity, arising from the nature of things, as the world now is, that in the beginning of a reformation, some, at least, of those efforts, which afterwards appear to have been premature, were not indispensable. It is not yet proved, at least so it seems to us, that Luther, with all his errors, was not needed to begin the work of a reformation, whose results involved some of the most precious blessings that in later times have descended on our race.

Much, we think, may depend on the circumstances and condition—the moral and intellectual elevation, generally—of the community in which these efforts are to be made. Where there is full liberty of the press, and facilities and means for circulating every where such information as will *prepare the way*, for a work of reform, we cannot help thinking that our course of action should be widely different from what it ought to be under other circumstances.

If we were to affirm, however, that the friends of “moral reform,” in the popular acceptance of the term, have not sufficiently prepared the way, for acting advantageously on the public sentiment, we should undoubtedly be told that the same remarks have been made in regard to every reformation, in every age of the world. We should at once be referred to the temperance cause, as it has been conducted in this country; and should no doubt be asked triumphantly where, as a nation, we should now have been, had we waited for the diffusion of more light, before we began to act, lest we should defeat our purposes. The action—the effort—it will be said, has been the very means of pouring a flood of light upon the common mind, which could not otherwise have been elicited or communicated.

Now although we believe that great good has been done in this cause of temperance, yet surely it is no heresy to question whether the balance of good over the evil which has been produced is as great as it might have been, had a different course of proceeding been adopted. The excellence of a cause, and the propriety of a particular mode of conducting it, we suppose few will be likely to maintain are to be determined by immediate apparent success; we mean

that success which is indicated by a rapid increase of its adherents. Some of the most faithful reformers the world ever saw, must on that principle be regarded as very unsuccessful.

We have been led to make this remark, because it is common to appeal to the number of converts to this new standard, as *bona fide* evidence that a crusade against any predominating vice is all that is indispensable ; and that any thing which has the appearance of a work of *preparation*, is treasonable. It is most deeply to be regretted that this propensity to despise the good old maxim, "Make haste slowly," has gained such strength among us. We deem it one of the most inauspicious signs of the times.

Would we drive vice from its strong holds forever ; would we not only war successfully, but make our victory certain and permanent, a great work of preparation is demanded. Light is to be diffused, and men are to be shown clearly, not only the position of the foe, but how they are to act, in their movements to dislodge him ; and not only how to obtain a temporary victory, but in what way they can best maintain their conquests. But, in the war against ardent spirits, has this been done ? And has not this important cause suffered on account of it ?

In the cause of moral reform, we cannot avail ourselves of "the pledge." Such is the nature of several of the vicious practices which it is the object of this reform to expose and eradicate, that were a public pledge of abstinence to be either adopted or demanded, it could do little good. The temptation to violate it would perpetually recur, while the chance of exposure would be so improbable, that the individual would be likely to fall, and his last state become worse than the first. As to other forms of criminality, seduction and infidelity, if they are not equally intangible, one of them, at least, is guarded against as far as possible by a pledge, instituted by the Creator, nearly six thousand years ago. If this pledge has proved insufficient, will any new one be likely to be efficacious ?

Our only adequate, if not sole resort, then, must be to the diffusion of proper information. "Light and love" must be the principal agents in this, if not in every work of reformation. We do most sincerely believe that if more *speedy* means might be adopted to effect a reform, there are none which promise to make the work so complete or so perfect.

The community must be shown their danger. This must be done, through the press and the pulpit. We believe that, owing to certain difficulties which exist, and which it is in vain to slight, though we were disposed to do so, our hopes must be placed chiefly on the former. Associations will be exceedingly useful, in so far as they promote that object. Probably their number, though already considerable, ought to be greatly increased. They can aid in eliciting and scattering the truth, by discussion among themselves, and by an enlightened influence on those around them. They can help to encourage the circulation of such tracts or other publications as they may think well calculated to promote the work in which they are engaged, as well as to discourage those whose influence will, in their judgment, be pernicious, or even doubtful.

What is wanted, at the present time, it seems to us, is to enlighten the mind, purify and elevate the standard of morals, and enlarge the dominions and quicken the power of conscience. We are disciples of the doctrine that men must have consciences before much can be done to ameliorate their condition. They must be convicted of sin, before they can be converted to holiness; and to this end, they are to be made susceptible of conviction. They must be rendered highly conscientious. If there has hitherto been no conscientiousness, our work is to implant it. If the conscience is seared as with a red hot iron, we should endeavor to restore its wonted sensibility. We know, full well, that conversion does not always follow conviction; but we know, too, that since the days of miracles, it has been usual to see thorough and radical conversion preceded by more or less of conviction.

Great judgment is, however, required in all our efforts to direct the public attention to evils of such magnitude as that which has led to these remarks. There is no danger of exciting the public mind too much, and calling forth too strong a public sympathy, if there is a certainty of being able to control and direct it. Dr. Rush says there are two kinds of sympathy, active and passive, the former exceedingly useful, the latter of very little service to mankind. He illustrates his meaning by comparing the condition of the skilful physician or surgeon, in case of an accident having befallen a person, with that of a bystander. The latter sympathises with the sufferer, but either through fear or ignorance does

not help him, while the former immediately summons all his powers of body and mind for his relief. And though the sympathy of the former may appear to be the strongest, yet as it is not active, it effects nothing in the way of relieving him.

Now in awaking the public sympathy in behalf of the wretched victims of seduction and licentiousness, there is great danger of awaking none but the *passive* kind. When we plead for the tens of thousands of drunkards in our land, and those other tens of thousands who are wretched in various ways by their influence; when we plead for the degraded children of the forest, or the devotees of Juggernaut, there is room for action. No one need hang his head and fold his arms, and say, "There is nothing that I can do; let them perish." Every one can do something. But when the woes which result from licentiousness are painted in glowing colors, and no way is proposed and no plan devised for affording relief, what room is there for sympathetic action? What can be done? We have said our condition in these circumstances is dangerous. What we mean is, that finding no channel through which to afford relief, our feelings are apt to become callous in regard to the whole subject.

We hold that when vice is unmasked, and her deformities shown in their most horrid outlines, a plan for reform should accompany the exposure. There has sometimes been too much of mere exposure—of presenting the details of crime and shame—and not enough of tracing out their causes, and showing the community how the evils already in existence can be corrected, and their future repetition prevented. And when plans of reform have been proposed, which, if carried into operation, would go far towards correcting present evils, the rising and future generations are apt to be greatly neglected, or perhaps wholly overlooked. Yet here it is that we put forth our strength to the best purpose, and with the brightest prospects of happy results. It is true, in some cases, that while we are at work for the present generation, we are doing much for the future, so far as the particular vice at which we aim is concerned. But is the depravity of the human heart, at the same time, perceptibly altered? If the stream be prevented from flowing in one direction, will it not burst out, with full force, in another? And what though we succeed in cleansing, in some good measure, the stream of intemperance or licentiousness, if the fountain remain untouched and unpurified?



It is quite doubtful whether the frequent and glaring details of seduction and licentiousness do not produce worse effects on the community than merely to paralyse and benumb. Who has not heard it objected to the details of crime and murder and punishment, in our public papers, that they not only diminish our sensibility to evil and suffering, and deaden all our sympathies, but teach the young how to commit the very crimes which they so minutely describe? And is there not *ground* for this objection and these views? Who does not know that

“Vice is a monster of so frightful mein,  
As to be hated needs but to be seen;  
Yet seen too oft, familiar to the face,  
We first endure; then pity; then embrace.”

One thing should not be forgotten. There are several important subjects which we could name, that parents and teachers never explain to the young; and yet they are subjects about which curiosity is ever awake and eager. And what is worse than mere silence, the youthful inquiry is met, often, by equivocation and downright falsehood. Now this evasion and concealment, however well intended, defeats the very purpose for which it is resorted to. It leads the young mind to magnify greatly the objects so concealed, and prepares the way for the reception of the most crude and doubtful intelligence concerning a subject which is kept wrapped in so much mystery. Nor is this all. There are never wanting—we were going to say there never will be—not *men*, but beings in the shape of men, who take a diabolical pleasure in gratifying the curiosity of the young, by the exhibition or sale of licentious prints, paintings, books, &c., whether the representations they contain be true to nature, or greatly exaggerated.

We say, therefore, that in diffusing valuable information through the community, such as on pure and simple minds could not fail of producing the happiest effects by stirring up, every where, the spirit of Christian reform, it should not be forgotten that we are addressing ourselves to a people whose minds are already misled, and whose imaginations are already more or less perverted. What is written on this subject will not reach the eye of one in one hundred whose feelings and associations on this subject are what they should be, or what he himself, in his reflecting moments, will tell us they ought to be.

For ourselves, then, we should not deem it expedient to present to the public mind much more of the naked detail of depravity and crime. We would say, rather, let us first act with reference to the knowledge we already possess. The community are certainly pretty well acquainted with the evils of distilled spirits; what they now need on that subject, is, most obviously, to be told *what to do*. They know the depth of the sickly stream, and the horrible gulf into which it flows; let them, then, search out and explore the fountains which unite, in vast numbers, to form it; and let those first be cleansed and purified. So in the cause of moral reform. Enough is already known—thanks to the men who have volunteered their services in this cause, and exposed themselves to an unmerited obloquy—to convince the most stupid that something ought to be attempted, if they only knew what. We cannot help fearing that too much has been said already, and that those who would otherwise put their shoulders to the wheel are half discouraged with the magnitude of the object. Our fears on this point have been greatly confirmed by considering the dealings of the Great Reformer with his erring children. When he first leads them to himself, and appoints a work for them to do, either as laymen or ministers, he does not reveal to them, at once, all the depths of their own depravity, or of that of others. Probably they could not endure it, without distraction, or, at least, without being discouraged. He only shows them enough of themselves or others to rouse them to a sense of the importance of being up and doing; not enough to induce a feeling that reform is beyond hope. As they proceed in their labors, they see more and more of human corruption and degradation, according as they become more and more able to bear it. Thus St. Paul, more than most men living, in all probability, saw the exceeding sinfulness of sin, not only in others but in himself; and the closer he followed in the footsteps of his divine Master, the more he abhorred himself; but at the same time, the bolder he grew in the cause of reform.

In saying that we would not present much more of detail, than has already been presented, we do not of course mean to be understood as saying that we would banish it altogether. Neither would we be understood as questioning, for one moment, the *motives*—whatever we may think of the discretion—of those who have led the van in urging this work of reform upon their countrymen. By no means. But it should be

a first principle with us, not to present it too often, or alone. Our grand object would be to show the community how the evils in question might be avoided or prevented; and in so doing we should doubtless find it necessary, in order to sustain our positions, enforce our arguments, or illustrate our plans of action, to state facts. But we do not believe that even then it is indispensable to use language which shall offend the ear, even of false delicacy. There is a way of saying things, which, while it conveys our meaning effectually, shows that we would not give pain willingly, even to the morbidly sensitive; and that we write, not to gratify a vicious curiosity, but to rouse or reclaim.

The subject of "moral reform" is one which concerns all classes of citizens, and should therefore be treated in a manner which may commend itself to all. But we believe that the topics which should be discussed, and the plans which should be presented for public consideration, are such as have special claims upon the attention of parents and teachers. We despair of any moral reform which shall be effectual or permanent, till we can arrest the attention and awaken the interest of those who have the charge—the responsible charge—of fashioning human nature at the very threshold of society.

But to point out the particular duties of each class of citizens, in relation to this subject, would be to write a volume, instead of an essay. It would be to unfold, to the best of our ability, the constitution of man, and its relation to surrounding objects and beings, for time and for eternity. It would be to open to their understanding by description, by illustration, and if possible by demonstration, the whole physical structure of the human being, not at any particular age, exclusively, but at successive periods of development, as he passes from infancy to maturity, and especially at the climacteric changes;—to explain to them the laws which obtain in this wonderful microcosm, and how they and the living being are affected by the laws which govern, and states which obtain in the material world around;—to teach them, lastly, the philosophy of the mind; the affections, and the passions.

With a fund of information of this kind, every parent might be prepared to listen, with patience at least, to familiar instruction on the philosophy of dress; its objects, defects, and abuses; and to a dispassionate inquiry, whether important

changes of the dress of either sex would have any influence in preserving the youthful imagination pure and uncontaminated. They would also hear with patience, perhaps read with attention, what might be said on the tendency of stimulating food and drink, and a thousand other things, to hasten those changes of the human constitution which it were better, far better, to retard than accelerate. They would not be wholly inaccessible to arguments whose object was to enforce upon them the necessity of free communication with both sexes on their duties and dangers, the moment curiosity begins to awaken, and situation and circumstances carry them beyond their own ken, and expose them to the corrupting influence of a corrupt world. "How shall I best introduce this subject to my son?" said a judicious parent, one day, as we were conversing together. "He is now eight years old; I find it necessary to keep him at the grammar school, and he will soon begin to be exposed to danger." We were struck with his inquiry, and rejoiced to find *one* father whose eyes were open to make provision for these wants of his household; and whose heart, warmed with the love of God, stirred him up to try to shield from danger his rising charge, and to impart to them morally, as well as intellectually and physically, their portion of "meat in due season."

Very few parents seem to believe that any thing can hasten the epoch of puberty, but climate. Now, while we do not wholly deny the influence of climate, in this respect, we believe facts will justify a belief that other causes have far more influence, and climate far less, in proportion, than is usually admitted. If this were not so, how comes it to pass that physical maturity is latest, in *temperate* regions, where the character is not only modified by climate, but by government, religion, &c. and earliest, as you recede from the light of Christianity, and approach the haunts of the savage, whether it be near the equator or the poles?

The teacher, no less than the parent, has much to do, in the work of moral reform; or rather in that work of *forming* character which, one might hope, would render *reform* unnecessary. His is scarcely a less arduous or less responsible duty than that of the parent for whom he is substituted. Perhaps it may devolve on him, more than even on the parent, to settle several important questions so long unsettled; whether the sexes should be instructed separately, or in the



same apartments ; whether or not their recreations should be conducted together ; and if not, at what age, and under what circumstances a separation should take place. On the decision of these questions, let it be what it may, will depend much of the success of the teacher in contributing his share to the work of reformation. For our own part, with many distinguished teachers, we have long since been convinced that the usual practice of separating schools into two great classes, and carrying on the work of education and instruction separately, is productive of very great mischief, and will, sooner or later, be abandoned. We believe that much is yet to be learned, in regard both to teachers and pupils by having an eye on those model schools, instituted by the great Teacher, in which there are usually pupils of both sexes ; and always a teacher of each sex ; and where the pupils are trained in the same apartments from infancy to adult years. All other schools, of higher or lower grade, are but substitutes for these "divine schools," if we may so call them, and may hence derive many important hints both in regard to their organization, and their methods of imparting instruction.

The minister of the gospel has much to do, also, in the great work which we are advocating. But *how* he is to perform his task most acceptably, we do not feel qualified to say. Only we are sure of one thing, that God cannot have delegated to him so much power and influence, and then given him a license to omit wholly one in ten of his principal commands. At the same time we believe, to some extent, in the doctrine of "expediency ;" and that while a minister is bound to declare the "whole counsel of God," he is not obliged to declare it all in a single sermon, or on a single day. Neither St. Paul nor the Saviour did this ; and they are not very unsafe models. St. Paul said, "all things are lawful for me, but all things are not *expedient*," and spoke and acted on the principle of becoming all things to all men, in order to save them ;—and the Saviour, not very long before the close of his mission, expressly said to his constant scholars, the apostles ; "I have *yet* many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them *now*." After all, as we have said of writing on this subject, so we say of preaching ; much will depend on the style and manner. One man will say things which another with the best intentions cannot. Besides, a minister has many opportunities of doing good in aiding this work of reform, without saying much from the

pulpit, and especially on the Sabbath. But as we have already observed, the duty of a minister is one on which we feel very incompetent to decide.

The duty of physicians is much more plain. Besides parents and teachers, there is no class of men that can effect more. We know not how it is, but we believe it to be a fact—and if so, it deserves much consideration—that a few words, or efforts, from a favorite physician, will do and accomplish more for the cause of education, morals, or piety, than the same amount of reasoning and effort from any other individual in the community. We have seen what, as a body, they can do in a benevolent cause, during the progress of the temperance reformation. But the cause of moral reform is one in which their aid is equally needed (for the cause itself is equally important, to say the least); and in which it would be far more effectual. If vice, in all its odious and revolting forms, solitary and social, is to be eradicated by human effort, attended by the blessing of God, it is, in no small degree, through the influence of enlightened, and philanthropic, and energetic members of the medical profession. Nor is it to be doubted that they will be found ready to co-operate in any judicious measures which have been or may hereafter be proposed.

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## ARTICLE X.

### CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*Journal of an Expedition into the Indian Country, to the source of the Mississippi, made under the authority of the War Department, in 1832.*

THIS Journal was transmitted by the Secretary of War, on the 11th of April last, to the House of Representatives, pursuant to their resolution of March 28th, and is printed among the docu-

ments of Congress. It is the work of Lieut. Allen, of the U. S. army.

Mr. Schoolcraft, whose travels in the west, in former years, cannot be wholly unknown to our readers, made a tour into the Indian country in 1832, under the authority of the war department. His principal object was to vaccinate the Chippewa Indians. An officer of the army and ten privates, including a corporal, were detailed, by order of Gen. Macomb, from the company stationed at fort Brady, to make a part of the expedition; and their chief service seems to have been that of an escort to Mr. Schoolcraft and his party. Lieut. Allen was the officer thus detailed, and he was directed "to keep a journal of the expedition; to describe the country through which it might pass; to delineate, topographically, the route and several points of importance; to ascertain the manners and character of the various Indian tribes, their numbers, strength in warriors, condition, mode of living, of obtaining subsistence, whether at peace with their neighbors or not, their places of resort for foreign supplies, how supplied, and by whom; to note the nature of the soil, the geology, mineralogy, and natural history; remark upon the game and fishes, as to quantity, quality, and facilities for procuring them." He was informed, also, that he would be considered "as on topographical duty" during his absence from his post and while engaged in this expedition.

These duties are truly arduous, as well as various; and when we come to learn the distance the lieutenant travelled in less than three months, and the manner of his travelling, we shall be rather inclined to applaud his industry and efficiency, than to censure the meagreness of his journal, as it stands contrasted with the fulness of his instructions. "We were absent eighty days," he says, "and travelled in that time two thousand eight hundred miles." Deducting the Sundays, on which he rested, his average progress was more than forty miles per day.

"The party organized for this expedition consisted of Mr. Schoolcraft, who had the principal conduct of it; Doctor Houghton, the surgeon to vaccinate the Indians; Mr. George Johnston, interpreter; Mr. Boutwell, a missionary of the American Board of Missions; twenty engagées, or Canadian voyageurs, in the employment of Mr. Schoolcraft; and the military part" already noticed; "making an aggregate of thirty-five souls." The military part "was transported and subsisted" under Lieut. A.'s directions; the other part was "under the direction and subsistence of Mr. Schoolcraft." The expedition embarked from Saut de Ste. Marie, on the 7th of June, 1832. The route was, in boats, up the southern coast of Lake Superior, to Ford du Lac, its southwestern extremity; thence, in canoes, westerly, following crooked streams, and over intermediate portages, to Sandy lake; thence into the Mississippi, and up its course, to Cass (for-

merly called Red Cedar) lake, and to Travers lake (which is its northernmost source) on the southern edge of the highlands that divide the waters of the Mississippi from those of Red river. From this last lake, the route was southerly into Lac la Bicke (Elk lake) on the eastern edge of the same highlands. This lake is placed on the map, which accompanies the journal, in latitude 47 10, longitude 95 54; and is confidently pronounced to be "the true source and fountain of the longest and largest branch of the Mississippi;" being 165 miles above (a little south of west of) Cass lake, and 1029 miles above (northwesterly of) the falls of St. Anthony. Lieut. A. takes much pleasure, as he well may, in having removed the doubts that have heretofore existed respecting the source of the king of rivers. This river, he says, "we found, at its very egress from the lake [la Bicke] a respectable stream, its channel being twenty feet broad and two feet deep, and current two miles per hour." Its course is northerly and northeasterly, till it empties into Travers lake. Down this stream, "the expedition" returned into this lake, and through Cass into Leech lake, which last was left to the south, on the upward route.

The country about the source of the Mississippi "is so very remote and dreary, that the Indians seldom visit it." Over the whole distance of one of the portages, passed by the party in approaching Lac la Bicke, "not a bird or animal, scarce even a fly, was to be seen; and it would seem," says the journal, "that no kind of animal life was adapted to so gloomy a region. The soil was almost pure sand, and the pine was stunted and mostly of the scrub species, which, hung as it was with lichens, and no other growth, not even a bush or shrub mixed with it, presented a picture of landscape more dismal and gloomy than any other part of this miserably poor country that we had seen."

From Leech lake, the party took a southerly direction to the head of Crow Wing river, which they descended, in a southeasterly and easterly course, into the Mississippi. Thence, passing by the falls of St. Anthony and fort Snelling, they reached St. Croix river, (which enters the Mississippi on the north,) and ascending that river, northerly and northeasterly, almost to its source, they proceeded a few miles over land to the Bois Bralè, and down that stream to its entrance into the southwestern part of Lake Superior. The distance thus passed, from the junction of St. Croix with the Mississippi, to the great lake "is 295 miles, and is very direct, but very bad for canoe navigation. In accomplishing it," says Lieut. A., "my men have been, some of them, badly injured, and all so much exhausted and overworn, that they could not have continued much further in the same way."

Lieut. A. and his soldiers returned to Lake Superior (four days after Mr. Schoolcraft's party) on the 9th of August, and reached fort Brady on the 25th. His letter, transmitting his



Journal to Gen. Macomb, bears date Nov. 25th, 1833; fifteen months after the route was completed. In this letter, he very properly suggests his *want of time and means*, on his route, as an apology for the deficiencies in his observations, when measured by his instructions. This apology we think ample and satisfactory. We nevertheless perceive that he very decidedly pronounces that the missionary at the island of La Point had "produced little or no apparent effect," and that the effects of the method, adopted by the missionaries generally, "are by no means proportionate to the expense and labor employed." It is to be remarked, in the first place, that the missionary had been at La Point only one year. In the next place, the lieutenant reached that island on the 20th of June, "at ten o'clock at night," and left it the next day "at six o'clock, P. M." This was his *time*; twenty hours. What were his *means* of judging, he has not informed us. It is but fair, however, to add, that on his return, he "reached La Point in the afternoon" of August 11th, "leaving it on the 12th,"—not stating the hour. And in compiling his journal, he might very properly, in this instance, as he tells us he did in others, combine the information acquired in going and returning, and note it under the date of his first view. He *may*, therefore, or he *may not* have spent forty hours at La Point. We also cheerfully give him credit for gentlemanly language, and for a charitable estimate of motives, when speaking of missionaries. Mr. Boutwell, who accompanied Mr. Schoolcraft on this expedition, stopped at La Point on his return, "to pursue his pious efforts for christianizing the Indians."

It appears from this journal that most of the Chippewa Indians were in a deplorable condition—poor, improvident, diminishing in numbers; and that they are not friendly to the United States. But we have no room for extracts, nor for the thoughts which this topic suggests. We hope to see Mr. Schoolcraft's account of this tour, and also Doctor Houghton's remarks on botany, to which Lieut. A. says "he devoted much attention, and will probably give the result to the public."

2.—*Inaugural Address delivered by the Rev. Stephen P. Olin, President of Randolph-Macon College, Mecklenburgh Co. Va., on the occasion of his induction into office, 5th March, 1834. Richmond: 1834. pp. 28.*

THERE are few circumstances in the history or prospects of our country, which seem to us more auspicious, or more directly calculated to produce a deep and permanent effect upon our national character, than the recent change which has taken place in the views, or at least in the practice, of the Methodist churches in this country, in respect to education. Until a very recent

period, they were supposed to take but little interest, in comparison with other less numerous bodies of Christians, in the general diffusion of knowledge, and, in the higher departments of liberal education, they manifested still greater indifference. The period is, indeed, within the recollection of most of our readers, when the members of this denomination in general, not only took no active part in promoting liberal education, but were, perhaps not wholly without reason, considered as setting little value upon it, as a means of promoting human virtue and happiness. That this is in no degree the case now, among any portions of the millions who worship with this church, we will not presume to assert; but the reproach can no longer attach to them as a community, if indeed they could ever have been considered as justly liable to this imputation.

In the mean time they have, as a religious sect, been pushing northward, and southward, and westward, until their church is now co-extensive with our country, and like the nervous and sanguiferous systems in anatomy, their minute ramifications extend to the smallest portions of every member. The influence of a community thus widely extended through the country, must be felt in promoting or retarding all the great movements of society. Nearly one third of the inhabitants of this country are supposed to come within the direct influence of this powerful denomination, and such is the system of discipline which prevails among them, that they are generally thought to act with peculiar unanimity.

The importance of this change in sentiment and practice appears in a strong light in the following passage, taken from the address whose title stands at the head of this article. We are glad of the opportunity to recommend to our readers the pamphlet from which this extract is taken. It seems to us to be an uncommonly well written inaugural address, and to be every where distinguished for sound views in regard both to the purposes and the means of education. The author takes the happy medium between a rashly innovating spirit, and a blind adherence to established systems, merely on the ground of their having been long established. Under such a president and with such associates as we understand compose the faculty of the Randolph-Macon college, there is every reason to anticipate for the institution the most gratifying success. The following is the passage to which we referred above.

"It becomes the religious denomination, under whose auspices this youthful seminary has speedily risen to vigor and usefulness, to prosecute its benevolent objects with the most zealous perseverance. We have been called to engage in the business of education, by omens of no doubtful import, and it rests upon us, with all the imperative urgency of a Christian obligation. We have come tardily to the work, and it the more behooves us to prosecute it with a diligent and vigorous hand. In our burning zeal to propagate the gospel, we seem to have overlooked minor interests. By the

blessing of God we have pressed into every open door, and planted our doctrine and churches in every neighborhood, throughout the entire Union. Along the whole unmeasured length of frontier which skirts this vast republic, our banner waves in the van of emigration, and we have even raised the trophies of the cross beyond the remotest limits of civilization. In the midst of these cheering successes, we are suddenly roused as from a long reverie, to a sense of new and appalling responsibilities. The children of the four millions of people who attend upon the ministrations of our church, call upon us for the means of education. Surely I do not misinterpret the signs of the times, when I say the church will respond to this affecting appeal. She owes it to her character; to her interest; to self-preservation. She owes it to the land which has yielded her so plenteous a harvest, and to the people who have greeted her with so cordial a welcome. She owes it to our republican institutions, and above all, to the immortal destinies which God has committed to her care. The church will do her duty. The sacred obligation of engaging in the work of education is felt and acknowledged. The spirit of liberality is increasing, and the most unequivocal evidence is given of a great revolution in public sentiment upon this subject. Besides a number of academies established upon an extensive and liberal scale, four colleges are already successfully engaged in diffusing the blessings of education under the patronage and control of the Methodist Episcopal church. Two more are expected shortly to go into operation under flattering prospects. These institutions are the offspring of individual bounty."

3.—*The Corner Stone ; or a Familiar Illustration of the Principles of Christian Truth. "Jesus Christ himself being the chief Corner Stone."* By Jacob Abbott, Author of *The Young Christian, and The Teacher*. Boston : published by William Peirce. New York : John P. Haven. Philadelphia : Henry Perkins. 1834. pp. 360.

THIS book furnishes additional evidence that the popular literature of our age,—and our country especially,—is assuming a more serious character, and a more important aim. We say "the popular literature;" for if we mistake not, Mr. Abbott's writings come properly under that denomination, though they are eminently practical and religious in their design and tendency. They combine the charm of romantic incident and dramatic action with the soberness of evangelical truth. They may be denominated *popular*, not because they belong to the class called in general *light reading*, but because they are well suited to supplant it; and we shall be somewhat disappointed if "*The Young Christian*," and "*The Corner Stone*," do not take the place, in many a parlor library, of the most popular works belonging to the family of religious novels.

Every careful observer of what is passing in the Christian world, has seen sufficient occasion to lament the unfortunate tendency of a familiar acquaintance with the facts of scripture, to destroy their interest and power. The most moving incidents in the history of Jesus Christ, excite no emotion in the mind of the common reader; and indeed they often fail even to arrest his attention. Now it is exceedingly important to break up this

spell of familiarity; to bring out the great facts of revelation and present them in a new light; to arrange them in some unusual order; or clothe them in some unusual dress. This has been attempted by writers of fiction; but, not unfrequently, in providing against one evil, they have incurred a greater. Mr. Abbott has attempted it; and, we think, with much better success.

"The Corner Stone," as stated in the preface, is intended to be, in some sense, the counterpart to "The Young Christian;" that having exhibited the first principles of Christian duty, and this, on the other hand, developing the elements of religious truth." These elements are so arranged as to have a manifest connection with the history of the Saviour, and the main facts in his history are brought to illustrate and enforce them. Several of the leading doctrines of the gospel are unfolded and elucidated with peculiar clearness and felicity. The work professes not to be a system of theology; but rather "a series of views;"—and views they certainly are, luminous, sometimes sublime, and always rich and picturesque.

The book will prove, we are persuaded, a most welcome and valuable present to the Christian public. One of its great excellencies is, that it sends us back to the Bible, whence all its substantive materials are drawn, with a keener relish for its simple narratives and naked truths. Over these our author contrives to throw a sort of poetic charm, which will not be lost when we turn to the inspired pages from which they are borrowed. Another great excellence is, that it places full and distinct before the mind, the elementary principles of Christianity in their practical tendency and development, and in their most attractive form, without any of the stiffness of the system-maker or the bitterness of the sectary. It will undoubtedly tend to allay the heat of party spirit between different sects; and while it fixes the attention upon the essential truth, will promote that charity which is the bond of perfectness.

There is an *apparent* leaning—we hope it is only apparent—towards a Sabellian view of the trinity. The author, in speaking of God under the name of the Deity, invariably employs the neuter pronoun. He speaks of the Son, as a manifestation of the Deity; and of the Holy Spirit, as an influence proceeding from the Son. We presume, however, that he did not intend to call in question or to express any doubt respecting the personal existence of the Son and the Holy Spirit as distinct hypostases in the Godhead; and that the obscurity on this point has arisen simply from the design of the work, which naturally led to a popular view of this subject, rather than a view metaphysically exact.

In the seventh chapter, we think that the account given of the reasons for the institution of the Lord's supper are inadequate,



particularly what is said concerning the bread and wine. "The articles used, were those," says Mr. A. "which we may literally say, *happened* to be there. The disciples are sitting or standing around the table, about to separate, and the Saviour takes up the very first thing which comes to hand. Had he been walking in a grove, instead of being seated at a table, he would perhaps on the same principles, have broken off a branch from a tree, and distributed a portion to his friends; and then Christians would have afterwards commemorated his death by wearing their monthly badge of evergreen." Now we think that two important points are overlooked in this statement. First, Christ took *the most expressive sign* which could be found, so far as we can see, of the thing to be signified—his body broken and his blood poured out for the sins of the world. Is not the symbol of breaking bread and pouring out wine far more significant of the sufferings and death of Christ, than wearing a badge of evergreens, or walking in a solemn procession? These latter would be signs of *victory*, not of *suffering*. His disciples were not simply to remember *him*, but his *death*. Secondly, this thing was done that the Scriptures might be fulfilled. The paschal lamb, which the Jews killed, *ate*, and whose *blood* they poured out, was a type and figure of our Saviour's death and passion, and of his blood shed for the salvation of the world. There are many things in the supper strikingly analogous to what took place in respect to the passover. So we think that our Saviour had a *special intention* in selecting the very symbols which he did select.

The style of the volume, is simple, elegant, sometimes diffuse, but uniformly chaste, and occasionally forcible and eloquent. It is the style of a man of microscopic accuracy of observation, great delicacy of feeling, and considerable love for the beautiful in nature, and still more for the beautiful in morals. We hope Mr. A. will be encouraged to proceed and enrich our religious literature with many such contributions as he has given us in "The Young Christian," and "The Corner Stone."

- 4.—*The History of Arabia, Ancient and Modern, containing a Description of the country, Geographical, Social and Political; Life and Religion of Mohammed; Conquests and Literature of the Saracens; Caliphs of Damascus, Bagdad, &c.; Modern Arabs; Origin and Suppression of the Wahabees; Institutions, Customs, &c. of the Bedouins. By Andrew Crichton, with a Map and Engravings. In two volumes. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1834. pp. 418, 422.*

A PRINCIPAL defect of these volumes results from the immense space over which the historian travels. He is compelled to com-

prize in the compass of two small volumes, the annals of all ages, the history of a religion which yet sways its iron sceptre over a third of the human race—the ascent and downfall of powerful dynasties in three continents—and the records of some of the brightest periods of intellectual refinement. Of course, with materials so vast, no powers of condensation and combination could avail. The reader must necessarily travel like the camel of the desert, or with the speed of the ostrich. Such narrow limits are particularly unfortunate in detailing the events of war. A simple catalogue of victories won or lost, of legions cut in pieces, or of proud monarchs overthrown, will tire the most patient spirit. We need breathing places, oases of refreshment and rest in this interminable march of armies. In no circumstances is this remark more true than in relation to the sanguinary followers of the son of Hagar. We were also struck with the absence of that elevated philosophical criticism, which in some writers, like Heeren and Neander, give such a charm to the dry narration of events. The remarks of Mr. Crichton are sensible and judicious, but not profound or discriminating. We rise from the book entertained, but not instructed; our minds amused, but not impressed. To write a really first rate history, a man needs not only the powers of research, and of communicating his thoughts in an interesting manner, but a radical acquaintance with human nature as varied by political and religious influences. Mr. Crichton is nearly deficient in these higher qualities. Still the volumes are deserving of much praise. The author faithfully examined the best sources of information, and had the good sense to take Niebuhr and Burckhardt as his guides. He appears to be familiar with Pococke, Reiske, De Sacy, and the best Arabian writers. He must also have the high praise of impartiality. Fully allowing the supreme importance of Christianity, and the inspiration of its records, he has given apparently a fair representation of Mohammed, shunning the bitter invectives of a large number of his biographers. It is truly refreshing to follow a candid and good natured writer through scenes calculated to arouse some of the worst passions of our nature. The author has successfully vindicated the Bedouin character from some of the prejudices which have been for a long time thrown around it.\* He has also all that clearness of method and illustration which is consistent with the deficiency of philosophical powers above referred to. On the whole, we think that these volumes will well repay the reader, who has not time or means to go more profoundly into the various subjects brought to view. We have never seen so good an account as Mr. C. furnishes of the war of Mohammed Ali with the Wahabees, nor a more faithful summary of the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ruins of Petra.

*5.—Publications of the American Sunday School Union.*

ALL books written for children and youth may be regarded as deficient, if they do not possess, in a considerable measure, the following characteristics.

1. Good taste in the embellishments, and mechanical execution generally. One of the most deplorable influences which was exerted by the children's books in general circulation forty years since, arose from the wretched typography, the barbarous wood-cuts, and the caricature-engravings, which were in vogue. One of the most uncouth images indelibly fixed in our minds, had its origin in the title page of *Blue Beard*, and in the picture representing Apollyon in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Great advances have been made in this particular within five years past. Still there is room for decided improvements. It is an object of much importance, and will justify considerable expense. Better operate on a somewhat smaller number of minds, than to communicate erroneous principles of taste, or fail to educate children properly in this particular.

2. All writers of Sabbath school books ought, if practicable, to resort to original sources of information. Less dependance will be placed upon the statements quoted from Hartwell Horne, or Gill, or Faber, than upon those which were taken directly from Burckhardt, Niebuhr, and other unexceptionable sources. There ought not only to be a reference to the best original authorities, but a collation of testimonies. The observation of a particular traveller in Palestine may be limited and doubtful. It is necessary to confront several witnesses. We can account in no other way for the wretched maps which we have had, in illustration of Bible scenes, than that their projectors did not exercise an independent judgment, after having resorted to the best materials in their reach. Thorough research is not only necessary to guard children against error, but to secure the confidence of the small part of the community who are able to judge in these matters.

3. A style which is simple, neat, and elevated. We are persuaded that there is no occasion to resort to childish, half English phraseology, in teaching children. Simplicity and intelligibleness are perfectly consistent with correct and forcible and well arranged sentences.

4. The character of the thoughts must be a little raised above the ordinary comprehension of the mass of children. In what other way is any advancement in the successive generations of children to be effected? If there is a perfect adaptation in the thoughts to the existing degree of intelligence, where is the opportunity for invention, inquiry, and intellectual activity?

5. The piety inculcated should be catholic, comprehensive, and all-pervading. That spirit should be cherished in the bosom of children—the want of which is now a main cause of a great

proportion of the evils which are desolating the church of God. Youth and children should be taught to enter into the meaning of that sublime prayer of our Saviour, "that they all might be **ONE**." This universal good will should be manifest every where as a cardinal trait of Christianity. Much more, we believe, can be accomplished, than has yet been attempted in conveying to youthful minds the *right* ideas of the gospel of Christ, especially in respect to its expansive and philanthropic spirit.

We are not sufficiently familiar with all the publications of the American Sunday School Union to determine how far their efforts have been successful in procuring the right kind of books. So far as our examination has extended, we have been highly gratified. The 'Lithographic Views of Palestine,' lately published, are admirably done. They are accurately copied from Rosenmueller's Views of Palestine, after the original sketches of Ludwig Mayers. They embrace Bethesda, Valley of Jehoshaphat, the brook Kedron, the Mount of Olives, Mount Tabor, Nazareth, Sea of Tiberias, and Bethany. Explanatory remarks accompany each engraving.

The 'Life of Washington' is exceedingly well written. We read it through with unabated interest. Some original anecdotes are introduced illustrative of the piety of Washington. The pictures are considerably worn and defaced, with the exception of the one fronting the title page.

The volumes, entitled 'Tahiti without the gospel,' and 'Tahiti receiving the gospel,' are neatly printed, and appear to be well written. 'Ellis's Researches' was very properly the principal authority. It is stated that a third volume will soon follow, entitled 'Tahiti with the gospel.' From recent developments we fear that a fourth must be prepared entitled, 'Tahiti apostatizing from the gospel,' or 'A chapter in the history of New England Rum.' Horrible have been the effects of the avarice of Old England and of New England. We fear that unless this work of death is soon stopped, the third volume will be simply a melancholy record of what Tahiti *was*. We observe in the volumes a little confusion in respect to the marks of quotation, owing to the use of the single and double inverted commas.

'Jonah Ross,' is a very pathetic story, inculcating admirable lessons of filial obedience, and habitual piety. An intelligent friend of ours took it up casually, and became so interested as to read the whole at once. The style is lively and clear. The book shows many marks of having been written by a man of sense. We cannot doubt but the wide diffusion of publications such as we have now briefly alluded to, will confer eminent benefits on the country. The Sunday School Union, by its books simply, may become one of the great enlighteners of the times, and the blessed almoner of salvation to a dark world.



6.—*Publications of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society.*

THE same remarks are applicable to the publications of this Society, which we have just made in respect to those of the parent institution.

The 'Letters to a Sister,' by Mr. H. Newcomb, intended as a practical directory for young Christian females, are judiciously designed and executed. The letters are eighteen in number, and were originally addressed to a younger sister of the author. They could be put with great advantage into the hand of any young female. The list of books at the close might be amended, and considerably enlarged.

'The Clinton Family,' or 'The History of the Temperance Reformation,' by the Rev. Cyrus Mann, of Westminster, embodies a great variety of interesting facts, which will be instructive to adults as well as children. The religious bearings of the subject are favorably exhibited.

7.—*The First Foreign Mission : or Journey of Paul and Barnabas to Asia Minor. By William A. Alcott. Written for the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, and revised by the Committee of Publication. Boston : 1834.*

THE subject of this little work is the journey of Paul and Barnabas from Antioch in Syria, through Cyprus, Pamphylia, and Pisidia, as far as Derbe and Lystra. This the author considers as the first Christian foreign missionary tour. His object, in the work before us, is not only to publish in a new form a narrative of the events of this mission, but to throw additional light upon the scripture narrative, by illustrations drawn from the customs and manners, the geography, history, and mythology of the countries in which the mission was performed. He aims to have his youthful readers form as clear conceptions of the circumstances in which these first Christian missionaries were placed, as the intelligent reader of a modern missionary tour may have, respecting the peculiar situation of the members of such a mission. For this purpose, he not only describes in language, but illustrates by cuts, the kinds of ships then in use, the dress of the oriental nations, some of their more common utensils, the idols then worshipped, and the books then in use. A small map also is given of the country, which is the scene of the apostles' labors during this mission.

The general truths of revelation, relating, as they do, to the moral nature of man, which is universally the same, and to his unalterable relations, must be intelligible in every country and in all ages. Whether we conceive of Paul and Barnabas as sailing to Cyprus in a vessel resembling a bark canoe, a Venetian barge, a modern frigate, or a steam-boat, the great doctrines of the

unity and holiness of God, the apostasy of man, and the necessity of repentance taught by these apostles, will be equally intelligible. In this respect it is that the Scriptures are so plain that he who runs may read.

But these and similar fundamental doctrines, are far from being all the truths of the Scriptures. They are full of narratives and allusions, which can be but imperfectly understood, without an acquaintance with the geography and the civil and political history of the country in which they were written; and also with the customs, manners, dress, education and habits of the people.

For want of information upon such subjects, the Bible appears to many readers a dry and uninteresting book; and not being aware that their difficulty lies in their own want of preparation to understand what they read, they attribute their indifference to the nature of the book. There is, without doubt, a dislike to the doctrines of the Bible, independently of the want of understanding its allusions, but we do not suppose that this is the only, or perhaps even the principal, cause of the prevalent neglect of the Scriptures. Every book, therefore, which is fitted to render the Bible more intelligible to the common reader, we regard as of great value, and this value is proportionate to the amount of light which it is calculated to diffuse.

To this class belongs the work before us. Its author, who is very favorably known as an assiduous and successful laborer in the cause of education, has in the present work evinced his usual industry and discrimination, and we believe that the book will be found of essential use to those for whom it was especially intended.

The language is in general distinguished for its perspicuity. In some passages the author seems to us to have sacrificed neatness and elegance of diction, from an unnecessary solicitude to accommodate his style to the capacities of his juvenile readers. Simplicity of language is certainly to be aimed at in all cases, and especially in writing for the young, or the illiterate; but care is requisite not to mistake the homeliness of colloquial language for genuine simplicity. Such a mistake tends to the corruption of the language, with no corresponding good effect. To children accustomed to elegant language, such a style is not pleasing, and others are prevented from acquiring a correct taste for want of suitable models. Very little effort is necessary to render language intelligible to children, beyond that of employing in all cases the most appropriate words and phrases. If they do not then understand an author, the difficulty, we believe, will generally be found to lie, not in the language, but in the ideas themselves, which the author wishes to communicate. The writer has, in such case, supposed his reader to possess a degree of knowledge in some particular, which does not in fact belong to him; and the remedy is to be found, not in the use of puerile or undignified language, but in imparting the requisite elements of knowledge.

Our author observes [page 30] that "Barnabas and Paul had both been Jews before they were converted." The expression would seem to imply that their conversion had rendered them Gentiles.

The preaching in the Jewish synagogue is described, page 54, as resembling what is now called an exhortation, rather than the modern sermon. It was probably less like either, than like what is called in some parts of this country a *lecture*, or *exposition*. Its original intention was to explain the antiquated language of the scriptures, and it appears to have long retained somewhat of the same character.

On page 19, the author seems to be in doubt in respect to the meaning of the word "Paul," or the reason of the change from Saul to Paul. The first is the original Hebrew name, and the latter its Hellenistic form.

8.—*The Complete Farmer and Rural Economist; containing a compendious epitome of the most important branches of agriculture and rural economy. By Thomas G. Fessenden, Esq. Editor of the New England Farmer.* Boston: Lilly, Wait, & Co. and G. C. Barrett. 1834. pp. 374.

THE principal improvements in the modern science of agriculture are the following: a correct knowledge of the properties, and of the best modes of application, of manures mineral, animal, and vegetable—the knowledge and the means of chemically analyzing soils—introduction of root-husbandry, or the raising of potatoes, turnips, mangel-worzel, &c. by field husbandry, for feeding cattle—laying down lands to grass, either for pasture or mowing, with a greater variety of soils—the substitution of fallow crops in place of naked fallows—the art of raising the best animals. The principal impediments in the way of agricultural improvements, in this country, seem to be, the cultivation, or the attempt at cultivation, of too large a quantity of land—and a prejudice, which is extensively felt, against all improvements, as doubtful, as too scientific for common farmers, and as involving too much expense for the mass of landholders. We have sometimes heard the remark made that certain farmers were prosperous till they began to *innovate*. Such prejudices are, however, vanishing. The legislature of Massachusetts voted at their last session to appropriate considerable funds to various agricultural societies, in continuation of the grants which they have for many years made. Among other periodical publications, the *New-England Farmer*, published at Boston, has contributed largely to the diffusion of valuable scientific and practical knowledge. Mr. Fessenden, the editor, has been honorably distinguished in efforts of this character. The publication, whose title is given at the

head of this article, is a condensed and methodical analysis of the most important matter which has appeared in the successive volumes of the *New England Farmer*, with various additions. A large number of models and drawings of various utensils are inserted. A striking characteristic of the work is its freedom from mere hypothesis and ingenious speculation, and its obvious adapt-  
edness to be useful. It is to be followed by a volume on horticulture. The typographical execution is quite commendable.

9.—*Introduction to Sacred Philology and Interpretation*, by *Dr. J. G. Planck*; translated from the original German, and enlarged with notes, by *Samuel H. Turner, D. D.*, *Prof. Bib. Lit. in Prot. Epis. Sem., New York*. New York: Leavitt, Lord, & Co. 1834. pp. 306.

It is not more than twenty years since sacred philology was cultivated at all in this country. It is true that some of the fathers of New England read Hebrew and the cognate dialects with great ardor, but their knowledge was little more than a dry acquaintance with grammatical forms, or a boastful display of a most heterogeneous erudition. They had no deep philosophical acquaintance with language. They used well the accessible helps, but the condition of sacred learning all over Christendom was exceedingly low. Luther, Melancthon, Erasmus, and a few others, had caught the keys of biblical knowledge; but they were sadly persecuted for their pains. Their labors were not appreciated, nor their doctrines widely diffused. The greatest defect in the writings of president Edwards is owing to his want of acquaintance with the true principles of biblical interpretation. Dr. Stiles, of New Haven, was said to have been acquainted with Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldee, Arabic, &c., but his learning was extensive, rather than profound. It could not be otherwise when such lexicons as Parkhurst's were in vogue.

To Mr. Stuart is to be ascribed principally the cultivated state of sacred literature in this country. He has not only provided a number of important helps, but created an enthusiasm in the pursuit, which we trust will never die. The first edition of Mr. Stuart's Hebrew Grammar was published in Andover, in 1821. The fourth edition ten years afterwards. In 1821, he translated and published a valuable pamphlet, from Jahn, Gesenius, and Wyttenbach, on the best mode of studying the original languages of the Bible. In 1823, Jahn's Biblical Archæology, translated from the Latin by professor Upham, now of Bowdoin college, appeared. A second edition has lately been published. It contains a great amount of well arranged information on Hebrew antiquities. In 1824, Mr. J. W. Gibbs, now professor in the theological school in Yale college, published at Andover, a Hebrew and



English Lexicon of the Old Testament, including the Biblical Chaldee, from the German works of Gesenius. In 1828, an abridgement, or manual, was issued from the same press, designed to assist students, until a second edition of the large work shall be published, which will undoubtedly be a great improvement on the first. Gesenius is now preparing a very extensive lexicon in Latin. In 1829, Mr. Stuart published a Hebrew Chrestomathy, or Easy Lessons, designed as the first volume of a course of Hebrew study. A second volume was issued in 1830. In 1822, a Lexicon of the New Testament made its appearance in Leipzig, by Wahl. This lexicon was translated into English, by Mr. Edward Robinson, then assistant instructor in Andover, with considerable improvements. A new edition is now in progress, revised and improved by the use of the lexicons of Bretschneider, Passow, and others. It is, we understand, to be entirely rewritten. Robinson's Lexicon has superseded all others in this country. A Grammar of the New Testament, translated from the works of G. B. Winer, by professors Stuart and Robinson, was published about the same time with the last mentioned work. Bishop Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, was issued in Andover in 1829, with valuable notes, by C. E. Stowe, now professor of Bib. Lit. in the Lane Seminary, Ohio. Dr. Marsh, of the University of Vermont, has given us an excellent translation of the first part of Herder's Spirit of Hebrew Poetry. The remainder, we believe, is nearly ready for the press. In 1832, a Manual of the Chaldee Language, with a chrestomathy, vocabulary, notes, &c., was published in Boston, by E. Riggs, now a missionary in Athens, Greece. Ernesti's Principles of Interpretation has been translated by Mr. Stuart, and two editions of it published. Two volumes of Essays and Dissertations in Biblical Literature, translated by Messrs. Turner, Whittingham, and others, have been published in New York. One of them contains a translation of J. D. Michaelis's Treatise on the use of the Syriac language. A manual Hebrew Grammar, for the use of beginners, by J. Seixas, was published in Andover in 1833. Mr. Stowe has published, in one large octavo volume, Jahn's History of the Hebrew Commonwealth. The Biblical Repository, now in its fourth year, published at Andover, and conducted by professor Robinson, contains a great amount of most valuable philological information and discussion, in the form of original essays, expositions, translations, &c.

The book, of which the title is given at the head of this article, is a translation of a small portion of Dr. J. G. Planck's Introduction to Theological Literature. The translator has appended about one hundred pages of valuable notes, principally occupied in giving some account of the philological works which have been published since the time when Planck's essay appeared, forty years since. We think that more unity and value might

have been given to the volume, if the notes were embodied in the work itself; Planck being the basis, and the annotations interwoven.

- 10.—*The Library of American Biography. Conducted by Jared Sparks. Vol. II.* Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. London: Richard James Kennett. 1834. pp. 407.

THIS volume contains the life of Alexander Wilson, the American ornithologist, by W. B. O. Peabody; and the life of Captain John Smith, by George S. Hillard. To an admirer of romantic enthusiasm and a lover of nature, we cannot imagine a richer treat than the life of Alexander Wilson. The lover of birds (and who does not love them?) cannot but love their enthusiastic friend, their eloquent advocate and *biographer*. Let such an one seat himself by a window, which looks out upon a well cultivated garden, or variegated parterre, with a wooded variety of hill and dale in the back ground, and there amid the mingling melodies of the songsters that haunt such a "sylvan scene," let him turn over the pages of this delightful biography. He will then be in a mood rightly to conceive and appreciate the character of Wilson. He was no ordinary man; and if genius alone can truly delineate genius, no common man may presume to write his history. To say then that Mr. Peabody has succeeded in his difficult attempt, is no mean praise. He has not indeed added much that is new to our knowledge of the history and character of Wilson. The biography of Mr. Ord, prefixed to the American Ornithology, made up as it is for the most part of copious reflections from the letters and journals of Wilson, gives us perhaps as complete and interesting a view of the man and the ornithologist, as it is possible to give. Mr. Peabody, like a faithful and industrious bee, has gathered the honey from this wild mass of flowers, and served it up for us in a new, clear and beautiful comb. It is indeed "sweet as the honey-comb," and we are grateful for his industrious toil. But the flowers themselves are beautiful and fragrant, and possess a thousand charms and odors, which no art can extract, no alchemy condense; and if we regret any thing in this charming sketch, it is the loss of Wilson's own beautifully descriptive letters. For the place, however, which it occupies in the American Biography, Mr. Peabody's life is perhaps better as it is, and will be an acceptable offering to the lovers of fine writing and taste.

We make room for the following particulars in the life of Wilson. He was born in Paisley, in Scotland, on the 6th of July, 1766. His parentage was humble, but honorable; his parents being Scotch peasants, and distinguished for the proverbial good sense, intelligence and piety of their class. His

early advantages of education were meagre ; but his tastes even from his childhood were highly intellectual and poetical. He was apprenticed to a weaver, and spent seven years of his life in this humble occupation. He then left the loom for the pack, and made the tour of Scotland in the character of a travelling-merchant or pedlar. But caring much more to behold the beauties of nature, than to display his wares, he met with little success in his new calling. The pedlar, whose feelings of rapture at the grand and beautiful in nature, burst forth in such expressions of delight as these, was illy qualified for the low pursuits of his sordid vocation. "These are pleasures," he says, "which the grovelling sons of interest, and the grubs of this world, know as little of, as the miserable spirits, doomed to everlasting darkness, know of the glorious regions and eternal delights of paradise." He made several attempts at poetical composition, and published a small volume of fugitive pieces, which never brought him either fame or money. He was not wanting in poetic feeling, but was trammelled by the laws of versification. His prose is poetical, and his poetry prosaic. In 1793 he resolved to emigrate to America, the land of freedom and plenty. With him, to resolve was to execute. For four months he devoted himself to the labors of the loom, in order to obtain the means of paying his passage, and lived in the mean time on a system so rigidly economical, that his whole expenditure did not exceed one shilling a week. With his characteristic energy and enthusiasm, rather than give up the opportunity of his passage, as the vessel in which he wished to embark had her full complement of passengers, he consented to sleep on the deck through the whole passage. On the 14th of July, 1794, he landed in America with but a few shillings in his pocket, and these borrowed from a fellow-passenger, without a letter of introduction or a single acquaintance. A stranger in a strange land, without even an object of pursuit, he set out on foot with his fowling-piece in his hand for the city of Newcastle, near which he had landed. Free, unembarrassed, cheerful, with eye, ear, and heart, to see, hear, and feel all that was beautiful and new, he gave himself up entirely to the guidance of chance. The first object that attracted his attention, and which probably gave direction and character to his subsequent life, was a red-headed woodpecker, which he shot. For the details of his subsequent history, we must refer our readers to the life itself. For several years he followed the laborious occupation of a school-master, devoting himself with assiduity and zeal to the self-denying duties of his office. His leisure hours were employed in the study of natural history, as appears from a letter written by him at this time, in which he describes the state of his own apartment, crowded with opossums, squirrels, snakes, lizards, and birds in such numbers, that they gave it the appearance of Noah's ark. Wilson

was fortunate in forming the acquaintance of Mr. Bartram, whose fine botanical garden was situated near his school house. To the assistance and sympathy of this gentleman, and the facilities his grounds afforded for studying the habits of the birds, which were attracted to them, the world owes probably the development of Wilson's taste, and the conception of the American Ornithology. Seven years were spent by this devoted and enthusiastic naturalist in unwearied and unrewarded toils, travels, and sacrifices in the execution of this noble work. His enthusiasm, firmness and perseverance, which formed the principal elements of his character, have been the theme of frequent admiration and praise. Were not the evidence incontrovertible, it would hardly be believed that "a single individual, without patron, fortune or recompense, accomplished in the space of *seven* years, as much as the combined body of European naturalists took a *century* to achieve." "But it is literally true," says Mr. Ord, "that we have as faithful, complete, and interesting an account of *our* birds, as the Europeans can at this moment boast of possessing of *theirs*." Wilson has figured and described in his work 278 *species* of birds, 56 of which had not been noticed by any preceding naturalist. The whole number of birds figured is 320. He died in Philadelphia of the dysentery on the 23d of August, 1813, aged 47.

Mr. Hillard's life of Capt. Smith is a well written, faithful history of one of the most chivalrous and daring spirits, that ever "lived in the tide of times." The traditionary exploits of the "Father of Virginia," are as familiar as nursery tales. The romantic and magnanimous heroism of Pocahontas is in the mouth of every school-boy. With most of the facts in this life, we had already been made acquainted in Mr. Thatcher's interesting Lives of the Indians. The story however will bear repeating in a new form, and Mr. Hillard deserves the credit of telling it well.

For thrilling incident and chivalrous adventure, the life of Smith will not suffer in comparison with that of any other man. Those who love to read

"of most disastrous chances,  
Of moving accidents by flood and field,  
Of hair-breadth 'scapes i' the imminent deadly breach,"

may here be abundantly gratified.

## 11.—*Comprehensive Commentary. Vol. I.*

WE have looked over the first volume of this long expected publication with much satisfaction. It comprises the four gospels, and is contained in about 900 royal 8vo. pages. The text is



printed in large type in a column on the left side of the page. Underneath is a considerable number of marginal references. Henry's Commentary, somewhat abridged, but unaltered in respect to sentiment or style, occupies in general from one half to two thirds of the remainder of the page. Then follow notes critical, explanatory, &c. from Scott, Doddridge, Bloomfield, Rosenmueller, Stuart, Josephus, Vitringa, Adam Clarke, the editor, &c. Practical observations from Doddridge and others are found at the close of the chapters. What will give this Bible great value is the incorporation with it of Henry's Commentary. We are well satisfied that it has been done judiciously and *faithfully*. Henry is permitted to speak his own sentiments, in his own quaint and admirable manner. So far as we have examined, the remaining notes are selected with taste and judgment. The paper, printing, and whole mechanical execution are very good. The next volume will contain the first portion of the Old Testament.

- 12.—*Memoir of George Dana Boardman, late missionary to Birmah, by the Rev. Alonzo King, Northborough, Mass.* Boston: Lincoln, Edmands, & Co. 1834. pp. 320.

THIS is a memoir of an excellent missionary of the cross, sent out by the American Baptist Board of Missions to Birmah. He was born Feb. 8, 1801, graduated at Waterville College, Maine, in 1822, discharged the duties of tutor in the same institution for nearly a year, spent some time in theological studies in Andover, on the 16th of July, 1825, sailed from Philadelphia for India, arrived in Calcutta on the 2d of December, where, on account of the war in Birmah, he remained till March, 1827. From April, 1827, he labored in the mission at Birmah, with great ardor and success till Feb. 11, 1831, when he was called to his eternal reward. A church was gathered by his labors of more than seventy members. The biographer's labors seem to have been performed judiciously. We take pleasure in commending the volume to all with whom our opinion may have any influence.

- 13.—*Life of Rev. Joseph Emerson, pastor of the third congregational church in Beverly, Mass., and subsequently principal of a female seminary. By Rev. Ralph Emerson, professor of Ecclesiastical History, in the Andover Theol. Sem.* Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1834. pp. 454.

MR. EMERSON is undoubtedly to be numbered among the most useful men who have lived in our country, particularly on account of his efforts in the cause of female education. He communicated an ardor, a high wrought enthusiasm, into the

bosoms of thousands. Just such a man was needed to arouse the community to a much neglected but most important subject. The good which he accomplished was not so much owing to the excellence of his system of instruction, for he often changed his plans, but to the strong feeling in behalf of it, which he every where diffused. His claims to the gratitude of future generations will rest, principally, we think, on this fact. Our readers will peruse the memoir with great satisfaction. The editor has manifested good judgment, and remarkable honesty and candor, in detailing the character of his brother. We are certain that a faithful portraiture is given. There are many collateral facts and circumstances respecting the state of society in New England, for the last thirty years, which give additional value to the volume. We advise the reader to commence with the appendix.

- 14.—*Book for Parents. The Genius and Design of the Domestic Constitution, with its Untransferable Obligations and Peculiar Advantages. By Christopher Anderson.* Boston : Perkins, Marvin, & Co. 1834. pp. 420.

MR. JAMES, of Birmingham, in the preface to his Family Monitor, has the following remark. "In the ensuing pages, there will be found numerous and long extracts from an incomparably excellent work, by the Rev. Christopher Anderson, of Edinburgh, entitled 'The Domestic Constitution.' Of that volume, the author feels that his own is not worthy, in any instance, to be the harbinger ; but should he find that he has introduced any families to an acquaintance with a treatise so well worthy of their most serious attention, he will be thankful for that measure of benefit, and rejoice that he has not labored in vain." From this high commendation, the intelligent reader will not wish to subtract any thing. The book differs from almost every treatise on the subject which we have seen, inasmuch as it goes *fundamentally* into the most important questions connected with parental duty. It would argue little for the intelligence and piety of the community, if the volume should not become, in the best sense, *popular*. The principles are illustrated with new and very striking historical allusions.

- 15.—*Familiar Letters on Public Characters, and Public Events ; from the peace of 1783, to the peace of 1815.* Boston : Russell, Odiorne, and Metcalf. 1834. pp. 468.

THERE is a power in names to consecrate or condemn. The quaker who from conscientious scruples dismissed a dog that had offended him with the significant address, "Friend, I will not kill thee, but I will give thee a *bad name*," and immediately

shouted, "a mad dog!" though he might have been a very poor Christian, was no mean philosopher.

It is often said indeed that the name must find an archetype in the nature of its subject, or it cannot fasten; that there must be a correspondence between the word and the thing; that words derive all their significance from their relation to things; in fine that "*words are things*." This is partly true, and partly false. If the subject be known, independently of its name, it is true. "No tint of words" can color with false hues the known attributes of a familiar subject. If the subject be not known, but by its name, it is not true. The name corresponds not to the thing, but to a false ideal in the mind. It becomes one of Bacon's "*idola fori*," the fruitful source of misapprehension and injustice. "Verba," says this accurate observer of man and things, "ex captu vulgi imponuntur. Itaque mala et inepta verborum impositio miris modis intellectum obsidet. Neque definitiones aut explicationes quibus homines docti se munire et vindicare in nonnullis consueverunt, rem ullo modo restituant. Sed verba plane vim faciunt intellectum, et omnia turbent; et homines ad inanes et innumeras controversias et commenta deducunt."

Though there is some truth then in the oft-quoted remark, "What's in a name? that which we call a rose, by any other name would smell as sweet," it is not always true. A name may have had an original correspondence with its subject; it may have been honorable; but by perversion, oft-repeated calumny, and incessant bandying in the war of words, it may have lost its original meaning, and have come to be the sign (at least in the apprehension of the multitude) of ideas, the very reverse of those, for which it originally stood. Such has been the fate of the name "Federalist." Once a title of honor, the synonyme of constitutional patriot, by misrepresentation, which, though nine hundred and ninety-nine times refuted, have been repeated for the thousandth time, it has come to be a term of reproach, and as odious to "*the people*," as was ever the ill-odored "Tory." The volume, whose perusal has elicited these remarks, and the title of which stands at their head, is evidently the production of an old-school federalist, who still glories in the name and principles of his party, and has put forth this effort to rescue them from undeserved obloquy and infamy. The federalists have long been waiting in dignified silence the judgment of impartial history. They have confided their cause and fame to the verdict of truth-telling time. This silence would not probably have been broken, but for the "*revised*" and reiterated slanders (as they regard them) which Mr. Jefferson left to be given to the world in his posthumous works. The appearance of Mr. Dwight's "History of the Hartford Convention" was probably hastened, and that of the "Familiar Letters" occasioned, by these publica-

tions of Mr. Jefferson. The general character of this volume is the same with that of Mr. Dwight's history, which we noticed in the last number of our journal. It contains like that a rapid sketch of the most important political measures and events from 1783 to 1815. It is however more desultory and miscellaneous in its character; being interspersed with a multitude of interesting scraps of private history, anecdotes, graphic delineations of characters, manners, customs, &c.

On these accounts it possesses an interest for the general reader, independent of its political bearings. The manners, customs, dress, opinions and sentiments of our fathers, are fast disappearing from among us. A puritan or a patriot of the '76 stamp will soon be rarely to be seen. The opportunity of taking their likeness, of embodying in the enduring forms of literature or art the features of their character, will soon be gone. The evanescent impressions of the childhood of the present generation, received when these "great ones of the earth" were in their prime, are fast fading away. Any effort to fix and make indelible in the living forms of literary history, these fleeting visions, cannot but be acceptable. In his delineation of character, the author seems to be peculiarly happy. Though he has given a particular description of the person and character of more than thirty individuals, like a good painter, he has caught in each the expression of individuality, and his minutest descriptions do not tire. By many persons, these will be regarded as the most interesting and valuable portions of the volume. The names of the principal persons described, are, Bowdoin, Hancock, Lincoln, Jay, Hamilton, Ames, King, Jarvis, Dr. Cooper, J. Adams, Jefferson, Knox, Edmund Randolph, Pinckney, Washington, Samuel Adams, Sumner, Dana, Sedgwick, Wirt, Burr, Gore, Gerry, Strong, Brooks, Cabot, Pickering, Lowell, Parsons, Sewall, Parker, Dexter, Otis, Quincy, Lloyd.

Two of the most interesting events described in the volume, are the conspiracy and trial of Aaron Burr, and the death of Hamilton. After all, however, what is said of these subjects is of common and general interest; the book must stand or fall upon its political merits or demerits. The grand design of the volume is a defence of federalism. Other objects are merely incidental. Whether the author's exceeding severity on Mr. Jefferson, and his frequent allusions to existing parties and persons, however just and lawful they may be, are also expedient, and will subserve the end for which he wrote, may be doubted. The vindication of himself and party necessarily involves the severe crimination of Mr. Jefferson. Regarding him as a traducer and false accuser, some bitterness of feeling and expression in the writer would be naturally expected. Whether he has transcended the limits of dignity and decorum, or violated in his strictures the good old rule, "*ne quid nimis*," we will not presume to decide.



## LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL INTELLIGENCE.

### Great Britain.

*British Association for the advancement of Science.*—The idea of this Association was first suggested by Sir David Brewster, of Edinburgh. It was carried into execution by the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, particularly by the efforts of Rev. W. Vernon Harcourt. The first meeting was held in York in 1831; the second in Oxford in 1832; the third in Cambridge in September last; the fourth will be held in Edinburgh in September of the present year. The effect of such a union of scientific men throughout the kingdom, will be not only to give connection to the efforts of insulated inquirers, but to link the Societies themselves together in unity of purpose and in a common participation and division of labor. There are many important questions in philosophy, and some whole departments of science, the data of which are *geographically* distributed, and require to be collected by local observations extended over a whole country. No society has ever pretended to collect observations on a regular system, nor to form a national catalogue of the scattered particulars of any one science accurately detailed. When individuals meet for scientific objects, the effect of the general effort, emulation, and example, is to produce a spirit of exertion which gives to such meetings their principal value. In short, to come to a common understanding on subjects of general interest; to fix the data on which important points of theory hinge; to collect and connect extensive series of observations. The following are among some of the most important proceedings at the last meeting at Cambridge. A great majority of the members, together with several hundred others, having arrived on the 24th of June, an arrangement was made of provisional committees, of sections. I. Mathematical and General Physics, Sir D. Brewster, Chairman; Rev. Geo. Peacock, deputy Chairman; Prof. Forbes, Secretary; 38 members, among whom were Barlow, Babbage, Whewell, Herschell, Baily, Airy, Lardner, Dollond, Christie, Powell, Corrie, Brisbane, &c. II. Chemistry, Mineralogy, &c., Dr. Dalton, Chairman; Prof. Cumming, deputy Chairman; Prof. Miller, Secretary; 16 members, among whom were Daubeny, Miller, Faraday, Turner, Prout, Ritchie, Harcourt, &c. III. Geology and Geography, Mr. G. B. Greenough, Chairman; Rev. Dr. Buckland, and Mr. R. I. Murchison, deputy Chairmen; Messrs. William Lonsdale and John Phillips, Secretaries; 18 members, Conybeare, Sedgwick, Boase, Fitton, &c. IV. Natural History, Rev. W. P. L. Garnons, Chairman; Rev. L. Jenyns, deputy Chairman; Messrs. C. C. Babington, and D. Dow, Secretaries; 17 members. V. Anatomy, Medicine, &c., Dr. Haviland, Chairman;

Dr. Clark, deputy Chairman; Dr. Pond, and Mr. Paget, Secretaries; 19 members, Sir C. Bell, Drs. Alderson, Mayo, Prout, Roget, Paris, &c.

A discussion was commenced in the physical section in the morning, and resumed at a general meeting in the evening, on the phenomena of shooting stars, and of the aurora borealis, in which Robinson, Dalton, Airy, Herschell, Whewell, Christie, Scoresby, and Gilbert engaged. It was stated by some that the aurora was never elevated more than from three to seven miles above the earth's surface, while others contended that its altitude was 90 or 100 miles. June 25, a meeting of the general committee took place at ten o'clock. At eleven and twelve, meetings of the sections were resumed. Remarks were made on atmospheric phenomena, naval architecture, isomorphism, pith of plants, mines, spiders, nervous system, &c. At one o'clock, a meeting of the Association was held. Dr. Buckland, president of the meeting at Oxford, made some brief remarks, and resigned the office of president to Prof. Sedgwick. Prof. Sedgwick then addressed the meeting. He announced that Mr. Whewell had, at his request, prepared a review of the reports on the progress and present state of various branches of science, which had been presented at the meeting of last year, and also announced, that the government had conferred on Dr. Dalton a pension out of the civil list. Mr. Whewell then addressed the assembly at great length. At the evening meeting, Mr. John Taylor read a report on the subject of mineral veins. There are three leading hypotheses; first, that which supposes metallic veins to have open fissures, caused by some eruption, and filled up with various matters, by aqueous solution from above; the second theory is, that these fissures were formed by violence done to the strata, and filled up by matter from within the earth, forced up by heat, and becoming a mineral substance; the third theory is, that the whole formation was contemporaneous with the rocks themselves.

June 26th. At the sectional meetings, the following, among other communications, were read. Action of glass of antimony on light; account of a barometer cistern; account of a new reflecting telescope; compressibility of water; specific gravity of gases; account of experiments relating to sulphur salts; action of light on plants; ordnance maps geologically colored. At the general meeting the chairman read a report of the proceedings of the different sections.

June 27. The treasurer reported that the total receipts of the Association were £1,430. The number of members when the meeting commenced, was 680. The number of new members was 689. The chairmen of the different sections then read reports. Messrs Christie and Whewell communicated some papers. In the evening meeting, Messrs. Whewell and Farish read reports, the former on the tide wave, the latter on rail-ways and steam carriages.

June 28. The several sections met at ten o'clock, and at one o'clock, the last public meeting was held in the senate house. Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Henry, and Prof. Jameson were elected members. The reports of the sections were read. Mr. Challis communicated a paper on the theory of fluids. It was announced that at the next meeting at Edinburgh, Sir Thomas Brisbane would be president, and Drs. Brewster and Robinson

vice presidents. A number of gentlemen having addressed the meeting, it was then dissolved.

*Royal Society*.—February 13. A. P. W. Phillip, M. D. read a dissertation on the "operations of the different causes which produce death." The forms of death are five. 1. The only natural and simple mode of death is that of old age, when the powers of life become exhausted by the continual operation of the agents which had excited them. 2. Continued action of stimulants producing a diseased condition of the sensorium, which by sympathy communicates an influence to the vital organs. 3. Causes acting as direct sedatives, impairing excitability with previous excitement. 4. Impairing the operations of the vital organs, by depriving some of those organs of the stimulants on which their force depends. 5. Such causes as directly debilitate the organs themselves. J. W. Lubbock, vice president of the Society, read an article "on the tides." The theory of the tides, he remarked, is now in the same state as that in which the theory of the moon and planets was a century since. There can be no tables of tides formed, without that liberal patronage from government and learned bodies, to which the excellent tables of the planets are owing.

*Zoological Society*.—April 1. It was stated that there had been 10,000 visitors at the gardens and museum of the Society, during the month of March. The eighth number of Gould's work on the birds of Europe, a great and valuable undertaking, was presented.

*Royal Asiatic Society*.—March 15. Some account was given of M. Schulze, a native of Hesse, Germany, who was deputed by the French government to make antiquarian researches in Persia. Contrary to the wishes of his friends, he left Tebreez to penetrate into a part of Kurdistan. He was there murdered by the khan of Albagh. Some of his notes were sent to France.

*Captain Ross*.—The results of captain Ross's expedition to the northern regions are the following. The discovery of the gulf of Boothia, the continent and isthmus of Boothia Felix, and a vast number of islands, rivers, and lakes; the undeniable establishment that the north-east point of America extends to the 74th degree of north latitude; and valuable observations of various kinds, particularly on the magnet. The object of the expedition was to solve, if possible, the question of a north-west passage, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, particularly by Prince Regent's inlet. The expedition sailed from England, in May 1829, and on the 13th of August reached the beach on which his majesty's ship *Fury's* stores were landed. The boats, provisions, &c. were in excellent condition, but there was no vestige of the wreck. On the 15th, they rounded cape Garry, where their new discoveries commenced. They then passed the latitude of 72° N. in longitude 94° W. On the 1st of October, their progress was arrested by an impenetrable barrier of ice. The winter was passed in making surveys, and in intercourse with the natives. The following summer, there was no disruption of the ice, and the vessel was removed only four miles. In the winter of 1830 and 1831, the thermometer was 92° below the freezing point. During the winter, it was fully proved that there could be no passage below the 71st degree. The following winter was very

severe, and in the succeeding summer, they were able to move the ship but 14 miles. The ship was abandoned, and the winter was passed at Fury beach, where their sufferings were very severe, for want of clothing, bedding, and animal food. On the 25th of August, they reached the *Isabella*, which had been sent for them. They soon after arrived in England.

### Miscellaneous.

A series of philological works on scriptural subjects are in a course of publication in England, under the title of the "Biblical Cabinet." Six volumes are published, containing Ernesti's *Principles of Interpretation*, translated by Rev. C. R. Terrot; *Tracts on the Philology of the New Testament*, by Pfannkuche, Planck, Tholuck and Beckhaus; *Tittman's Syntagma of the New Testament*; *Tholuck's Commentaries on the Romans* and on the *Sermon on the Mount*, translated by the Rev. R. Menzies.—*The Life and Correspondence of the Traveller, Henry Salt, F. R. S.*, in two volumes, by John J. Halls, Esq. has just been published in London. Also *Remarks on Transportation for Criminal Offences*, by Archbishop Whately, addressed to Earl Grey.—*The Poetry of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, in three volumes octavo, with many new poems, is publishing.—M. Longford, LL. D., of the Whately professorship of Political Economy at Dublin, has published a course of lectures on the subject.

The annual expenditure of the state and of the civil list, for the several establishments in favor of learning and the fine arts in France, may be estimated at £122,000, a sum ten fold of that which is expended for similar purposes in Great Britain.—The number of Bibles sold annually, in Scotland, is rather above 60,000. The number printed annually in England, by the king's printers and the two universities, is 240,000; making in all about 300,000, exclusive of about as many Testaments.—A journal of a three years' residence in Abyssinia, by the Rev. Samuel Gobat, has just been published in London. Also the sermons and other remains of the Rev. R. Lowth, D. D.

### Continent of Europe.

About a dozen newspapers are now published in Copenhagen, Denmark, all under the control of the censor.—On the 1st of April, 1834, the annual exhibition of sculpture and paintings of the Danish Academy of Arts was opened to the public. It comprises 305 subjects, of which 217 are pictures and drawings, 44 pieces of sculpture, and the rest studies in architecture. Thorvaldsen alone contributed thirty-seven specimens.—A new series of the annals of natural sciences has commenced at Paris, with this year, edited in the zoological department by Audouin and Milne-Edwards, and in the botanical by Brogniart and Gillermin.—Labaume, author of *Napoleon's Russian campaign*, has commenced the publication of a history of the French Revolution, in 21 vols. 8vo.—A political and military history of the revolution in Poland in 1830 and 1831, is now publishing in French, translated from the German of Dr. Spazier of Leipzig. It is a popular work, having gone through several editions in German.—That vast undertaking, the



*Encyclopedia Methodique*, was completed at the close of 1833. It consists of 40 distinct dictionaries, extending to upwards of 200 volumes, and illustrated by upwards of 6,000 plates. At one time, it had 6,000 subscribers. It was commenced in 1782, by Pankoucke, and continued by his son-in law, M. Agasse, and his widow.—In the *Encyclopedia des Gens du Monde*, are oriental articles by Klaproth, Reinard, Champollion-Figeac, Depping, Golberry, &c.—A biographical dictionary of musicians has been announced by M. Fetis.—A history of book-selling has been announced by M. Metz, of Darmstadt, who has been employed on the subject for the last ten years. It is for the literary world in general.—A journal has commenced at Leipzig, under the direction of a committee of the booksellers of that city, to be devoted to all matters, connected with the interests of the book trade in that city.—Professor Poeppig of Leipzig, will publish in the course of this year, the first volume in 4to. of his travels in Chili, Peru, and along the Amazon, in the years 1827—32. He is the only German who has visited these countries for scientific purposes.—Dr. Mendelsohn, of Bonn, is preparing for press a work on Great Britain.—Professor Ranke, of Berlin, will shortly publish a history of the Popes, for which he discovered many hitherto unexplored materials during his residence in Italy.—Dr. Gervinus will speedily publish a history of the poetical literature of the Germans.—Aloys Senefelder, the inventor of lithography, died at Munich on the 25th of February.—Salis, a poet of the class of Thomson and Haller, died at Malans on the 28th of January last.—A committee has been appointed by the king of Sardinia, to superintend the publication of a collection of the historians of that island.—The Archæological Society of Rome, have established three periodical publications for the promotion of its interesting objects.—The excavations at Pompeii are continued with increased vigor. New buildings have been discovered, and some beautiful Mosaic pieces, representing historical events of the wars of Alexander the Great, have been brought to light.—The German professors of the university of Dorpat, Russia, have commenced a periodical in the German language, which is made the vehicle of much curious information respecting Russia.—Lenz, who studied the oriental languages under Bopp, has been allowed to reside two years in England at his Russian majesty's expense.

*King of Denmark.*—The present sovereign of Denmark, Frederick VI., has displayed an ardor and a liberality in the cause of science in which he has not been surpassed by any other prince. In addition to the learned men and the scientific establishments that he munificently supports in his own kingdom, he has rewarded in a most disinterested manner distinguished philosophers of other nations. He presented the late general Mudge, superintendent of the ordnance office; general Muffling, director of the topographical survey of Prussia; Krusenstern, the celebrated Russian circumnavigator; Alexander Humboldt; Baron Lindenau, &c., with gold chronometers, executed by the Danish artists, Jurgensen and Keffels. He gave to Fallon, the director of the Austrian survey, a superb pendulum clock by Jurgensen and a gold medal to the English engineer, Troughton. He conferred the order of Dannebrog on Reicherbach, Fraunhofer, Gauss, Arago, Olbers, Bessel, Encke, Struve, &c. In 1832, he offered a gold medal of the

value of 20 ducats, to any person, in any part of the world, who should first discover a comet, not known, nor visible to the naked eye.

*Congress of German Philosophers.*—The meetings of this convention of philosophers have been held at Berlin, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Vienna, and Breslau. Dr. Okens, of Munich, first suggested a plan for an annual meeting of all Germans who cultivated the sciences of medicine and botany. The first meeting of about 40 members took place at Leipzig, in 1822, and it was successively held at Halle, Wurtzburg, Frankfort on the Maine, Dresden, Munich, and Berlin. The obvious advantages of these meetings secured an extension of the plan, and other departments of natural knowledge were admitted. At the meeting at Berlin, Alexander de Humboldt was president; professor Lichstenstein, secretary. The number of members present was 378, of whom 172 belonged to Berlin.

*Seibold's Japan.*—The literary world are now looking with great interest for the appearance of this work, which was announced for publication in Germany, a few months since. Dr. Seibold is a physician, and was employed by the Dutch at Nangasaki, the only port in Japan visited by foreigners. While there he collected 62 chests of rare natural productions which were forwarded to Leyden. Having procured some charts of the islands from a native astronomer, he was thrown into prison for life by the government, but was unexpectedly treated with mildness, and after some time liberated. While he was in prison, the Dutch residents at Nangasaki forwarded to Europe a document written in German by Siebold, concerning Japan. This was submitted to the Asiatic Society of Paris, who referred it to a committee, consisting of Eyriès, Saint Martin, and Klaproth. This committee made an elaborate report upon it in July, 1829. They consider Siebold's facts as of great importance, though they pointedly condemn his attachment to *theory*. Siebold's inquires at length, 1st, Whether the Japanese are descended from the Chinese, 2d, Or from the Tartars, 3d, From mixed races, or 4th, Whether they are aboriginal. He decides in favor of the third hypothesis, though the committee with good reason dissent, and consider it to be established that the Japanese are aborigines.

Klaproth resided in 1807 and in 1808 at Irkutsk, where Catharine II. had established a school, and where there were a number of resident Japanese, who had been shipwrecked on the coast, and who were not permitted to return home. By aid of a native, named Sinsu, and a Japanese and Chinese Dictionary, he acquired the language. He considers the accounts of Kaempfer a German, and Thunberg a Swede, particularly the former, as having furnished the only trustworthy and entirely accurate accounts of Japan. They belonged to the Dutch establishment. In the appendix to the History of Japan, published in six volumes at Paris, in French, in 1754, there is a list of 106 authors, who had written on Japan. Among the principal, besides those already mentioned, are Marco Polo; William Adams, pilot of a Dutch fleet, who landed in Japan in 1598, and was there detained till his death in 1620; and Capt. Krusenstern, 1804, 5—6.

Japan lies between N. lat. 29° and 41', and E. long. 129° and 143'. The principal islands are Nippon, Kiusiu, and Sikokf. Japan is there pronounced *Nippon*. It is of Chinese origin, *Jih-pun*, or "origin of the sun." Many of

the mountains are volcanic. The rivers and lakes are small. That the Japanese are different in their origin from the Chinese, appears not only from the striking differences in their external features, but from the fact that the radical principles of the language are different. According to Klaproth, the general history of Japan commences 660 B. C., with Simmu, or the divine warrior, the first of the family *Dairis*, and probably of Chinese origin. He divided time into years, months, and days. The history is, however, in a great degree fabulous, till A. D. 284, under O-zin-ten-o, when the introduction of literature may be dated. Two kinds of writing were then in use, the ideographic characters of the Chinese, and a system of 47 syllables, represented by a different series of signs. As the language differs materially from the Chinese ideographic, a syllabic alphabet was introduced in the early part of the eighteenth century, composed of portions of Chinese characters.

In manufactures, the Japanese rival the Chinese. They work in iron, copper, steel, porcelain, silk, cotton, and watches. They have made paper since the 7th century, and printing since 1206, 250 years before it was known in Europe. There are three religions professed in Japan. 1. *Sinto*, or *Sinsiau*, most ancient and pure, founded on the worship of spirits and divinities. It includes a belief in the immortality of the soul, and in a distinction of rewards and punishments. The temples are large, and prayers are offered at stated periods to the founder of the empire. 2. *Buddhism*, introduced into Japan from Corea and China, in 552. It was several times persecuted till 628, when the royal family embraced it. In 1805, the Dai-ri, caused images of Buddha to be placed in the imperial palace. He received Buddhist baptism. The two kinds of worship are now confounded in the minds of the vulgar, though the more intelligent understand the difference. In one temple, there are 333,333 idols. A bell in one temple weighs 2,040,000 lbs., being five times the weight of the heaviest in Moscow. 3. *The religion of Confucius*.

The government is monarchial, despotic, and feudal. In 1822, the 121st Dai-ri was on the throne. The empire is divided into 8 grand divisions, 68 provinces, and 622 districts. Intercourse with foreigners was forbidden by an edict of 1637. Nangasaki only is open, and that only to the Coreans, Chinese, and Dutch. The two former are allowed to send ten junks annually, and the latter three ships. The internal trade is very active.

### Oriental.

Professor Frachn, to whom oriental literature in Russia is under great obligations, has induced the Academy of St. Petersburg to offer a prize of 200 ducats for the best history of the dominion of the Mongols in Russia, chiefly compiled from the works of oriental historians, corrected by, and compared with the notices scattered throughout the ancient chronicles of Russia, Poland, and Hungary, and the numismatical remains of the Mongol dynasty.—A dictionary of the Mongol language, with explanations in Russian and German, by professor Schmidt, of St. Petersburg, will be published in the course of this year.—A second edition of Jaubert's Turkish Grammar

is in the press, with corrections and additions.—The celebrated linguist, Bopp, has just published the first part of a comparative grammar of the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, and German languages, in which he treats of the sounds, the comparison of the root, and the formation of the case. A second part will complete the work.

### *Persia.*

The following persons have been employed by the East India Company as residents or ambassadors in Persia, for the last thirty-five years. The expense of their mission is subjoined.

Sir John Malcolm,	1799	£111,963	—— Ellis,	£25,000
—— Manisty,	1804	105,791	—— Morier,	23,070
Harford Jones,	1807	163,555	Sir Henry Willock,	1816 48,673
Sir John Malcolm,	1808	220,350	Col. Macdonald,	1824 16,000
Sir Gore Ouseley,	1810	141,166		
Total, £855,568.				

These missions have been mostly undertaken for the purpose of guarding against the encroachments of Russia, whose power, it is apprehended, will ere long come into collision with British rule in India.

### *Hindoostan.*

The population of Bombay is now 220,000, of whom 938 are Englishmen, 8,020 native Christians, 10,738 Parsees, 25,920 Mohammedans, and the remainder Hindoos. The number of dwelling houses is 15,474, valued at £3,606,424. There are natives of great wealth, intelligence, and respectability. Some of them are engaged in civil offices at a salary of £500 per annum. The chains of caste are not yet greatly relaxed, though there is less attachment for the brahmins than formerly. Among the Parsees, there is very little distinction of rank. The Company contribute annually to education in Western India, £4,000. F. Warden, Esq. from whose statements we have gathered the preceding facts, highly commends the conduct and success of the American missionaries at Bombay.—Captain Merley lately instituted a suit against the proprietors of the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, for a libel. Damages were laid at 25,000 sicca rupees. The accusation was that he had built a Hindoo temple at Ahmednuggur in commemoration of an illicit intercourse. It was proved that he had built a tomb over the grave of his mistress, and that the Hindoos had changed it into a temple. About 150 rupees were given as damages.—It has been determined that the servants of the Company, who are on the sick list, may come to the United States for the recovery of their health. It is probable that many will avail themselves of the privilege.—Bishop Wilson has issued a long circular in which he requires that all native Christians shall cease to regard the influence of caste.—Hon. Alexander Ross has been appointed a member of the governor general's council.—The subscriptions for the steam navigation by the way of the



Red sea to Europe, amount in Calcutta to 151,798 sicca rupees. Number of subscribers 2,180. Considerable difference in regard to the subject prevails at Calcutta and Bombay. The Hugh Lindsay steam boat is employed at the latter place; and the Forbes is about to be employed from the former.

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## OBITUARY NOTICES.

### WILLIAM SOTHEY, F. R. S.

MR. SOTHEY, the oldest of the English poets, died Dec. 30, 1833, aged 76. His principal works were "Oberon," a very faithful translation from the German of Wieland; "Poems;" "Battle of the Nile," the best produced on that occasion; "The Georgics of Virgil," flowing and harmonious; "Polyglot of the Georgics," including several modern translations in various languages; and the "Poems of Homer," with Flaxman's Illustrations. He was honorably distinguished in the second class of poets. His private character was very good.

### DR. FREDERIC SCHLEIERMACHER.

THIS great divine finished his course in Berlin, Prussia, Feb. 12, 1834, after an illness of only five days. He was born in 1768, in Breslau, Silesia. His parents were attached to the church of the United Brethren, and their son was sent to the school at Hiesky. At Barby on the Elbe, he commenced the study of theology. In 1787, he forsook the retirements of his cloister, joined the Lutheran church, and entered the university of Halle, where he listened to the instructions of Nosselt, Knapp, and Wolf. Unfortunately, he adopted Spinoza as his model, and imbibed many of the fundamental errors of his pantheistic system. He commenced his public life, first, as a preacher of the gospel, and afterwards as professor of theology at Halle. His most prominent characteristic was the uncommon energy with which he engaged in all his pursuits. This led him to examine almost every science and penetrate every department of human knowledge. In his sixtieth year, among other countries of Europe, he rambled through France. Upon another occasion, he visited England. At the close of the past summer, he undertook a solitary

journey partly on foot to the lofty mountains and splendid waterfalls of Norway. In a short time he also designed to cross the Atlantic. Notwithstanding his pantheism, he firmly believed in the depravity of man, and in the vicarious sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ. Since the opening of the university of Berlin, in 1810, Schleiermacher has occupied an important post as ordinary professor of theology. In the *Biblical Repository* he is said to have been a man "of great simplicity of manners, and one of the deepest thinkers of the day, who wanders at will over the whole field of theology. He seems to stand between the rationalists and the evangelical party, being however more distant from the former than the latter."

#### THOMAS TREDGOLD.

This distinguished and self-taught civil engineer was born at Brandon, near Durham, England. From the age of fourteen to twenty, he served an apprenticeship. He then employed five years as a working carpenter in Scotland. For the ten following years, he had an architect's office in London. Notwithstanding very fatiguing labors, he acquired an extensive knowledge of chemistry, geology, geometry, and mathematics. His greatest merit lay in applying scientific information to the practical advancement of his profession. He was the author of several excellent treatises, such as that on *Joinery in the Encyclopædia Britannica*, *Principles of Stone Masonry*, *Construction of Rail-roads and steam-carriages*, *Warming and Ventilating of rooms*, *Essay on the steam-engine*, &c. He died of debility produced by excessive devotion to his pursuits. As a son, husband, father, brother, neighbor, he was most exemplary, ever anxious for the happiness of all around him. England, America, and France, united in testifying to the value of his services. He died poor.

#### BISHOP JEBB.

THIS prelate was born at Drogheda, Ireland, September 27, 1775, and died in January last. He had an excellent domestic education, and graduated at the university of Dublin with high honors, receiving two of their divinity premiums. He had a great number of distinguished fellow-collegians, among whom were Charles Maturin and George Croly. He became, successively, curate of Swanliber, rector of Abingdon, and in 1823, bishop of Limerick, one of the most extensive and difficult dioceses in Ireland. He soon became deservedly popular and beloved, disregarding aristocratical distinctions, and patronizing working and humble curates. He made but one speech in the house of lords, and that was in 1824, on the subject of the church of Ireland. It was well received, and led to

further inquiries for his writings. He published a very ingenious essay on sacred literature, and another on practical theology. He was remarkably mild and amiable, but firm and consistent when occasion required. He was a member of the royal society and a doctor in divinity. His bishopric had an income of £4,984 per annum. He was never married.

#### CAPTAIN LYON.

THIS distinguished traveller lately died while on his return from South America, where he had been engaged in a mining concern, to England. He had travelled extensively in Africa, and also accompanied captain Parry to the northern regions.

#### LT. COLONEL JOHN BAILLIE.

THIS individual, whose death is just announced, was formerly professor of the Arabic and Persian languages, and of Mohammedan law, at the college of Fort William, in Bengal. On his return to England, he was chosen one of the directors of the East India company, and was twice a member of parliament. He was one of the principal founders and supporters of the Asiatic society. His collection of Arabic, Persian, and other oriental manuscripts, was uncommonly large.

#### REV. DOCTOR INGLIS.

DIED in Edinburgh, in January last, the Rev. Dr. Inglis, one of the principal members of the Scotch national church, after an illness of two weeks, at the age of seventy-one or seventy-two years. He was the colleague of Erskine, and the successor of the historian Robertson. He was for thirty years leader of the presbytery of Edinburgh, and in 1804, was chosen moderator of the general assembly. His principal published works are a Defence of Christianity, and of Church Establishments.

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NOTE.—Though we have appended *sixteen additional pages* to this number, we have been obliged to omit a considerable amount of materials, which we had a strong desire to insert. Our next number will contain several biographical notices of some length.

# QUARTERLY OBSERVER.

No. VI.

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OCTOBER, 1834.

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ARTICLE I.

ON HUMAN HAPPINESS.

HAD we more skill and less honesty, we should be tempted to introduce our readers into the main current of the following article, by a *side-cut*, which should enter at an angle so acute that the point of transition might not be noticed. We might thus, for a time at least, beguile those whose distaste may now be awakened by their first glance at a subject upon which so much that is common-place has been said and written. But we have no such arts; and with that portion of our readers who prefer the useful, to the novel and the brilliant, we hope not to need them. Not that we should expect a result immediately striking, even if we could establish a correct theory of human happiness, and cause it to be universally received. Far from it. Habits of action are slowly formed, and slowly modified. No man is as good or as bad, as happy or as unhappy, as his speculative principles would make him. When once society is put in motion, it gains a momentum which bears it on in the same direction, after the forces which first impelled it are withdrawn; and a gradual power must be applied, an elastic cable must be thrown around it, before the prow can be turned, and the sails set in another direction. Still, the conduct of a rational being, or rather, of one who acts rationally, must, to a great extent, be influenced by his theoretical opinions. Hence, as happiness depends upon conduct, to establish one principle, to fix one wavering idea, to shed one ray of light on



this subject, may do more for human well-being, than would be done by discovering the cause of the Aurora Borealis, or, were that possible, by an analysis of the moon.

Of modern disquisitions on this subject, probably the chapter of Paley, in his *Moral Philosophy*, which treats of it, is more read and studied than any other, as that work still holds its place in many of our seminaries of learning. That chapter was written by a shrewd observer; it contains observations of great practical significance, and it is not without reason that it has had a high degree of popularity. It is even quoted as one of the happiest efforts of Paley, by those who dissent altogether from the doctrines of his system of morals. But as the grounds of duty and of happiness must be closely associated, it was hardly to be expected that one who failed to give a correct account of the one, should succeed entirely in his exposition of the other. Accordingly, we think that he has advanced several erroneous opinions, the tendency of which, if they were acted upon, would be highly pernicious; and that the whole discussion is slight, and deficient in general principles. It will be our purpose in the following pages, to show the grounds of this opinion, from an examination of that chapter; and then to make some observations on the general subject.

In his introductory remarks, Paley asserts that all enjoyments are homogeneous. This is the first point that we shall consider, for we believe that there is a radical difference between different enjoyments, or, as we choose to say, between pleasure and happiness. On this subject he says; "I will omit much usual declamation on the dignity and capacity of our nature, the superiority of the soul to the body, of the rational to the animal part of our constitution, upon the worthiness, refinement, and delicacy of some satisfactions, or the meanness, grossness and sensuality of others, because I hold that pleasures differ in nothing but in continuance and intensity." And here he cannot mean that there is no proper distinction between gross and refined pleasures, since he says a few lines below; "By the pleasures of sense I mean, as well the animal gratifications of eating and drinking, &c. as the *more refined* pleasures of music, painting, architecture, gardening, splendid shows, theatric exhibitions; and the pleasures, lastly, of active sports, as of hunting, fishing," &c. As therefore, he allows some pleasures to be more refined than others, what he means to assert must be that refined

pleasures are no better than those that are gross. And as the other distinctions mentioned by him of worthiness and delicacy are equally common, he must, for the same reason, admit their propriety, but would hold that delicate pleasures are no better than those that are indelicate; and worthy pleasures no better than those that are unworthy, which is a contradiction in terms. But not to insist on this, which only shows how difficult it is for a man to use the language of mankind in contradicting their common judgment, without contradicting himself, we will appeal directly for the existence of the distinction contended for, to the only proper tribunal, to the consciousness and common sentiments of mankind. When Sir Philip Sidney, wounded and faint on the field of battle, was about raising to his parched lips the only cup of water to be had, he saw a soldier whom they were bearing past, still more severely wounded, look wishfully upon it. He immediately withdrew the cup and said; "Give it him, for he is more needy than I." Do we then feel that there was no difference in kind, between the satisfaction derived from that act, and that which he would have found in drinking the water? Do we feel that there is no essential difference between the pleasures of the selfish, brutified sensualist, and the satisfaction which Howard felt, in his self-denying efforts to remove ignorance and mitigate wretchedness? No difference between the pleasure of the pagan in devouring human flesh, and the enjoyment of the missionary when he sees intelligence, civilization, and Christianity, taking the place through his labors, of the darkness and degradations of heathenism? We should both despise and detest the man, who, when the case was distinctly put, should prefer the pleasures of a debauch, to the relief of a poor family suffering from cold and hunger. Surely it is not in the mouths of declaimers only, that we find the distinction made between the dignity and worth of some pleasures, and the meanness and criminality of others. Nothing is more universally recognized, or more regarded in the estimation which we form of the characters of others.

But it may be said, this is declamation, and not argument. Let us then, as the point is an important one, turn to argument, and not rest on the appeal, which, however, we still affirm is argument. And here we observe that the proposition of Paley takes it for granted that there is no essential difference between a brute and a spiritual being. We judge

of the effect from the cause, and reciprocally, of the cause from the effect. If there were two beings entirely different in their nature, different in kind, we should infer that their enjoyments would differ not alone "in continuance and intensity," but also in quality; if, on the other hand, their enjoyments were the same in kind, we should infer infallibly, that the beings were also. But the grosser sensual pleasures are enjoyed by brutes as perfectly as by man. It is not therefore requisite to the enjoyment of them, that the material organization should have any connection with rational and moral powers. But if man has a spiritual part distinct from the body, though connected with it, possessed of rational and moral powers capable of contemplating the infinite, the eternal, the beautiful, the true, and the good, we should naturally suppose that the enjoyment to be derived from the exercise of these powers, would be as different as the subjects of the powers themselves, as mind and matter, which Paley himself would, no doubt, allow differ in kind, or at least, that they may so differ. This natural expectation, confirmed by the common language and feelings of mankind, is met by a bare assertion without proof or confirmation, and we are expected to believe that the intellectual happiness of Sir Isaac Newton, in his highest contemplations, and most complete abstraction from sensual pleasures, differed only in continuance and intensity, from the gross pleasures of the debauchee, which might be as well enjoyed without a soul as with one, and in some respects even better. We are expected to believe the same of the moral pleasures of him, who, in the struggle between obduracy and penitence, between selfishness and love, resigns himself into the hands of his Maker, and feels in his union with "the first good, first perfect, and first fair," not in nature only, but in affection, a security which causes the face of nature to be irradiated with a smile, and casts the light of hope over an illimitable future that was dark before. Such moments occur, and though they may quickly pass, how often do we hear those to whom they come, affirm that they then first knew what happiness was? It is not, however, of human beings alone, that we are to believe this; but also that the enjoyments of Gabriel differ in nothing except in continuance and intensity from those of an oyster; and then, if there is no difference in kind between the pleasures, if we choose to call them so, of the two beings, neither can there be any between the beings

themselves, and Gabriel is only an imperishable, a more susceptible, and more fortunate brute. Did not an apprehension of irreverence forbid it, it will be seen that the argument might be carried still further. So different, indeed, are different kinds of enjoyment, that we do not suppose that a spiritual being less than infinite, having never been embodied, can conceive of pleasures merely sensual. The minor enigma of different kinds of enjoyment in the same being, will find its solution, in common with many others, in the solution of the greater enigma of man—in the union in him of two natures or kinds of being, the one spiritual, imperishable, and possessed of *powers*; the other animal, perishable, and possessed of *susceptibilities*.

But we remark again, that this doctrine of the homogeneity of all enjoyment, takes it for granted that there is no difference between virtue and vice, except in their consequences. In this indeed Paley is consistent, since it enters into his whole system, and is, as it seems to us, a radical defect. Here again, we reason from the effect to the cause. If there is no difference in kind in the pleasures to be derived from different courses, neither can there be between the courses themselves. The *pleasures* of sin, is an intelligible phrase—there are pleasures of sin. But the *happiness* of sin, is a contradiction; we might as well talk of the virtue of sin. But if all pleasures are alike in kind, the pleasures of debauchery, or of revenge, are just as noble, just as worthy of a rational creature, as the satisfactions of virtue; the only difference is, that they are followed by unpleasant consequences. Mankind have unfortunately conjured up certain prejudices and habits, from which Mr. Paley thinks that natural conscience cannot be distinguished,\* which will disturb them after the enjoyment of these laudable pleasures. Nay they are sometimes so unjust, as to visit a man with their reprobation for the enjoyment of the same kind of pleasures with themselves, though he may not have been quite so judicious in the selection. Surely, among pleasures of the same kind, a man should be allowed to take his choice without censure, since, from variety of constitution and temperament, no man can fairly judge for another. The vigorous might say to the feeble; “The pleasures of knowledge and virtue are no doubt desirable, and it may be well

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\* See Moral Philosophy, Chapter v. near the close.



for you to study and deny yourself, since you can attain them in no other way; but for me, I am determined to come at the same kind of pleasures by eating and drinking." We appeal to our readers, whether, of the numerous instances which must have fallen under their observation, in which this process has been undertaken, they have ever known one to succeed. On this system, vice is only folly, and not guilt; and he who pursues a vicious course is perhaps to be pitied for his defect of judgment, but not to be condemned. The only ground too, of the authority of reason and conscience over the instincts and passions, is, not that they give us any notion of what is good and right in itself, but because they are more knowing and far-sighted.

From the preceding considerations we hope it will appear, that there must be somewhere a fundamental distinction between pleasure and happiness. It would appear indeed, from a note in which he refers to it, that Paley himself could not entirely divest his mind of the idea of its existence. The following is his account of it. "If," says he, "any positive signification, distinct from what we mean by pleasure, can be affixed to the term happiness, I should take it to denote a certain state of the nervous system in that part of the human frame in which we feel joy and grief, passions and affections. Whether this be the heart, which the turn of most languages would lead us to believe, or the diaphragm, as Buffon, or the upper orifice of the stomach, as Van Helmont thought; or rather be a kind of network, lining the whole region of the precordia, as others have imagined; it is possible, not only that each painful sensation may violently shake and disturb the fibres for the time, but that a series of such may at length so derange the texture of the system as to produce a perpetual irritation, which will show itself by fretfulness, impatience, and restlessness. It is possible also, on the other hand, that a succession of pleasurable sensations may have such an effect upon this subtle organization, as to cause the fibres to relax, and return into their place and order, and thereby to recover, or, if not lost, to preserve that harmonious conformation which gives to the mind its sense of complacency and satisfaction. This state may be denominated happiness," &c. We are not about to spend time upon this passage. Whatever the true notion of happiness may be, the above statement, in the present state of our knowledge, requires no confutation. Its basis is a degrading

materialism, and it would be difficult to say whether it betrays greater ignorance of psychology or of physiology. On this system the most direct way to happiness would be the study of anatomy and medicine.

But if Paley has given, formally, no adequate idea of happiness, has he not succeeded in the main object of his chapter, which was to show in what it consists? We think not. He first mentions three particulars in which happiness does not consist; and with his remarks upon them we accord. He then mentions four others, in which, according to him, it does consist. These are; "The exercise of the social affections;" "The exercise of our faculties in some engaging end;" "A prudent constitution of habits;" and "Health." And here we may just notice the inaccuracy of saying that happiness *consists* in any other thing, for instance, in health. Happiness may result from health, but it consists in itself, and in nothing else. It was in this sense, we presume, that Paley intended to use the phrase.

For the convenience of investigation, we shall consider the particulars mentioned, in their reverse order. The most that can be said of health, is, that it is the condition of certain pleasures, and valuable pleasures; but happiness is so far from consisting in it, that it is not necessary to happiness even as a condition. It would certainly be going too far to say of every man in health that he is happy, or of every one not in health that he is miserable. Even on Paley's system, a man out of health may exercise the social affections and consequently be happy. Health is desirable, but human happiness is not so poor a thing as to be dependent on every casualty by which it may be affected. It often happens, no doubt, that the pains of ill health become a means of so strengthening the moral powers, of so promoting a calm resignation, and a quick and active sympathy with human suffering, that the character is made better, more valuable, and the man more happy. "He is to be pitied," says Seneca, "whom the gods have not thought worthy to suffer;" and suffering in this way may answer the ends of moral discipline as well as in any other. When this is the result of ill health, or indeed of any suffering, it becomes in its effects the reverse of those produced by the roll eaten by St. John, which, in his mouth was sweeter than honey, but in his belly was bitter.

But if happiness does not consist in health, neither does

it in a prudent constitution of habits. Whatever the end proposed by any man may be, it is evident that he may have, in Paley's sense of it, a prudent constitution of habits—that is, he may, with reference to one end as well as another, “so cast his habits, that every change shall be for the better.” If, for instance, his end be sensual pleasure, he may form habits of abstemiousness to a certain extent, that his pleasures may be of higher relish and longer sustained. The doctrine of Paley is, that whatever is habitual becomes indifferent, and that, therefore, if a man rushes at once into the enjoyment of the highest pleasures, and continues in them, satiety soon ensues, and he has no resource. This is true of pleasure properly so called, but not of every kind of enjoyment. It is not true of a life of virtue, since, the longer we continue in it, and the more eagerly it is pursued, the more it is enjoyed. In regard to the pleasures of the senses, there is no doubt but a computation may be made on the principle of double fellowship, combining quantity and time, so as to secure the greatest amount; but since, by Paley's confession, happiness does not consist in the pleasures of sense in whatever profusion, he who makes them his end cannot be happy, however good his constitution of habits in regard to them may be. It follows, therefore, that though a prudent constitution of habits in reference to any end is desirable, yet, whether we shall obtain happiness by it, depends, not on the habits, but on the ends which we pursue in their formation.

Nor does Paley more regard the end to be pursued when he says that “happiness consists in the exercise of our faculties in some engaging end.” Indeed, he says that if, after the judgment has made choice of an end, we have command of imagination so as to be able to transfer a pleasure to the *means*, the end may be forgotten as soon as we will. Now to some men, and on some occasions, revenge is a very engaging end, in the pursuit of which they may be as active as in any other—and therefore as happy. If to have an end, and an engaging end, were sufficient to happiness, most men would be happy. But there are two kinds of success in life. One consists in the attainment of the particular ends we have in view; the other, which is true success, in the attainment of happiness. The difficulty is not so much that men fail of assiduity to attain particular ends, as that they pursue those which are wrong. But there

is another doctrine countenanced by Paley under this head which we cannot receive. We do not believe that life is a mockery; that we are necessitated to pursue phantoms for the activity of the pursuit, and that there are no ends in which we may rest, as good in themselves. We believe that we may have a friend, for instance, in whom our affections may rest as their end, and find satisfaction without reference to any thing further. We cannot too strongly dissent from the philosophy that would make life a scene of aimless activity, and throw men into the turmoil, that they may be busy—that says to the “great and rich,” that it does not “blame them,” that “perhaps they cannot do better,” than to “frequent the horse-course and gaming-table,” and spend “twenty or thirty thousand pounds to gain a contested election” simply that they may relieve themselves of the burden of a stagnant existence. That the world is full of such pursuit to a degree that would beforehand be thought incredible, is true; but to assert that it is the order of Providence, that it is necessary to happiness, or even compatible with it, would be to reproach our Maker, and make life an absurdity. All activity would arise from mere uneasiness, and not from the pursuit of any natural and proper end, and we should be sent into the world under a delusion much like that of the peasant who pursues the receding rainbow that he may find the money buried beneath it—a delusion under which it would be fruitless to act, which it would be misery to discover. The truth seems to be that health, activity, and habits, which are only activity uniformly directed, are merely facilities, or instruments, which being wisely managed, happiness may be the result, but which, being abused or misdirected, become the occasions of misery.

It only remains to consider the social affections. From these we are willing to allow that happiness may result; but still we contend that on Paley’s principles it can no more be said to consist in them, than in the pleasures of sense. If there is nothing but pleasure, and all pleasures are of the same kind, then happiness must consist in whatever gives us pleasure; and though the social affections may be the source of more happiness, yet they are no more a source of happiness than the senses, or than any thing else which gives us a series of pleasurable emotions, not excepting vice itself. Consistency, therefore, would require Paley to adopt the conclusions of Brown, who says that “happiness may



be defined to be a state of continued agreeable feeling, differing from what is commonly termed pleasure only as a whole differs from a part ; and that every object, the remembrance, or possession, or hope of which is agreeable, is a source of happiness." On the system of Paley, therefore, the social affections have no more claim to rank among the sources of happiness than many other things ; and though we allow that happiness results from them in their own proper nature, yet all must feel that any view which should confine it to them alone, would be fragmentary and entirely inadequate.

It matters little to the object we have in view, whether Paley can or cannot be defended by saying that his object was to treat of happiness only in a popular and comparative sense. His book is taught as a scientific work ; and if he has failed to make essential distinctions, and to develop fundamental ideas on this subject, it is due to the cause of education that the defect should be pointed out. That he has thus failed, we have endeavored as briefly as possible to show ; and shall now, as was proposed, make some remarks on the general subject, which we hope may furnish hints towards placing it in a juster light, or which may, at least, elicit the efforts of those, abler and more successful.

Among the ancients, the question concerning the *summum bonum*, as consisting in some *one* thing, was agitated with more interest than any other, and was, in fact, made to include almost every other in morals. Varro mentions that there were two hundred and ninety different opinions in regard to it. The three principal sects, however, were the Epicureans, the Stoics, and the Peripatetics. Of these the first believed it to consist in the pleasures of sense, the second in virtue, and the third in virtue exercised in a prosperous life. We are not about to discuss these systems. What we wish to observe is, the very general prevalence among them of an idea of happiness as consisting in some one thing, or at least as not admitting any great diversity of sources, thus indicating an almost instinctive belief, that human nature has some one end in the attainment of which happiness may be found. We may observe running through the speculations of the finest minds of antiquity, a consciousness of something great and permanent in man, fitted to be the basis of an enjoyment independent of time and chance, entirely above and out of the casual flux and reflux of mere

sensitive pleasure. They had a conception of a higher and purer region, of permanent being, of fixed relations, and of constant happiness. Their hold of this was sometimes feeble, but still they clung to it, and even when they ran into many extravagancies and paradoxes, the light of this great idea may still be discerned beaming through their misty speculations. Nor has this idea been confined to them. Modern philosophers of the most profound reflection, and who have made the soberest estimate of the human faculties, have held fast to the same idea of a real, permanent, satisfactory good of which human nature is capable; and he is to be pitied who has not, in his better moments, felt its inspiration. The question is, what is that good? In order to ascertain this, it will be necessary to consider a little, the human constitution, and its relations to the objects by which it is surrounded.

The condition of all enjoyment, is the action of some faculty upon its appropriate subject; or the excitement by its appropriate object of some susceptibility. We can have no idea of any enjoyment in any other way. Could a faculty exist without action, it would be as though it were not; were it to act without its subject, it would be only an indefinite yearning, giving no enjoyment; but the moment it meets with its proper subject and acts upon that, it gives its appropriate satisfaction. So a susceptibility, when it is dormant, must remain unfruitful, but when it is awakened by its adapted stimulus, it gives the enjoyment peculiar to it. But since all enjoyment is derived from a relation of some part of the human constitution to its object, in what, it will be asked, does the difference between different enjoyments, or, as already mentioned, between pleasure and happiness, consist?

This inquiry has been anticipated, and is fundamental. The answer to it has already been indicated in the distinction that has been made between powers and susceptibilities. Man is capable of enjoyment in two very different ways—he is acted upon, and he acts—not simply because he is acted upon, but, his powers having been once awakened, by his own proper activity. Men and animals are constituted, irrespectively of any will or purpose of their own, with various susceptibilities, by which they are placed in relation to other things, and when these susceptibilities are awakened by their proper objects, *pleasure* is the result. The universe

is full of this beautiful mechanism by which sensitive natures are accommodated to surrounding objects, and that species of existence rendered desirable. In this point of view the works of God are a most pleasing subject of study. The mechanism of this kind in man, for man is in many respects as much a machine as a steam-engine, is very complex, and puts him in relation with a great variety of objects from which he is capable of receiving, or more properly, which may become to him the occasions of pleasure and pain. In this mechanism we include every thing that is instinctive and animal—all that part of the frame which acts impulsively, and does not involve the idea of self-consciousness, and self-government. What then is the kind of enjoyment thus received, and how far is man active in it? He who opens his eyes upon a landscape, or has a rose brought near him, receives a pleasure, but it depends upon a constitution of himself and of external objects entirely independent of his will, and not necessarily connected with any of his voluntary or moral affections. He may be active in opening his eyes, or in bringing the rose near, but the relation between the organ and the object being brought about, no matter by what means, he is then no further active, than as he possesses the vitality and the susceptibility which must be the condition of any pleasure. Were a water-wheel capable of a mere pleasurable sensation when the water pours upon it, or a stone, when shone upon by the sun, they would hold the same rank, would be the same kind of *thing* as man considered as enjoying pleasures of this kind unconnected with any other. Superior and heightened pleasures of this kind, depending on an exquisite and durable structure of the sensitive apparatus, would constitute a Mohammedan paradise. These enjoyments are common to man and the brutes, in many of which they are doubtless his superiors. Some of them, however, as those of the eye and ear, are doubtless modified and increased by their connection with rational powers.

But besides these, man is capable of enjoyments of a very different kind. He is possessed of *powers* voluntary, rational, and moral, by which he receives the ideas of the eternal, the infinite, the true, the beautiful, and the good; and it is in the voluntary exercise of these powers upon these great ideas in their various relations and manifestations in the Creator, in himself, and his fellow-creatures, that he

derives an enjoyment entirely distinct from that before mentioned and independent of it. It is from the voluntary exercise of these powers upon their appropriate objects, that we suppose *happiness* to result. On this theory happiness can result only from the exercise of mind, and though every man cannot command the means of pleasure, yet every man must be the artificer of his own happiness.

This is no more than was to have been expected. Every being, besides those appendages by which it is linked into, and forms a part of the great chain of being, has its own proper nature peculiar to itself, and it is from this nature that its enjoyment as such a being rather than another, must arise. The powers just mentioned are those in the possession and activity of which man takes his rank and possesses enjoyment *as man*. Nor is this distinction small. The gradations of nature are indeed minute, and the manner in which she causes the forms of being to blend into each other as she passes upward towards the summit of existence, is wonderful; but still she is occasionally obliged in her progress to make a stride, and pass over a gulf which she can never fill up. Such is the step taken in her passage from unorganized to organized matter; such is that from vegetable to animal existence, and such we believe that to have been by which she passed from brutes to man. In vain does she cause the sensitive plant to mimic animal contractility, it is still a plant. In vain does she endow the oyster with but feeble animal powers, it is still an animal. Equally in vain is it that she furnishes animals on the one hand, with instincts and adaptive powers, they are animals still; or on the other, that she grants to some men but the glimmerings of reason and conscience, they are still men. Some would perhaps say that the great step was taken in passing not from animals to men, but from men to superior powers. But we say, no. Man is made in the image of God, and therefore possesses, however feebly, the highest possible kind of powers. He is but "a little lower than the angels." Either, therefore, there is no essential distinction between an angel and a brute, or man must have powers in the activity of which he finds an enjoyment entirely distinct from that which is derived through his animal nature. The former of these we term happiness; the latter, pleasure; and this we think is the difference which mankind at large have in their minds when they use these terms distinctively.



We shall now adduce some considerations which go to confirm and elucidate this distinction. And here we may remark, that though the words pain and misery are sometimes used indiscriminately, yet there is a distinction generally felt and made between them, precisely corresponding with that contended for between pleasure and happiness. Pain has its seat in the sensitive apparatus, and results from the action upon it of objects inadapted to its nature ; misery has its seat in the mind, and generally results from a voluntary and criminal misapplication of its powers. Accordingly, as there is no discrepancy in saying of a man, though in the enjoyment of pleasure, (and of how many may we say it,) that he is not happy, so there is none in saying of him, though in pain, that he is not miserable, or even that he is happy. In speaking of one who died recently, a man of some distinction, the writer says, that "though the sufferings of his body were so intense, yet his happiness during some of his last hours seemed indescribable. He could speak but a few words at a time, but was able to say, I have peace, I am happy." Such language is by no means uncommon, we all understand it, and it will be perceived that it involves precisely the distinction for which we contend, and without which it would be unintelligible.

We remark again, that happiness cannot consist in that which, being taken away, happiness still remains. We have then only to see how far we may go in taking away, not only Paley's constituents of happiness, but several others that might be mentioned, without destroying the thing itself. It will be found in this process, that we shall be obliged to stop precisely where the distinction just made would require it. Take the instance of the sick man just mentioned. He was happy, but his happiness did not consist in pleasure of any kind—he was in pain ; nor in the active pursuit of any thing, not even of heaven—the pursuit, the journey, the activity, the effort were over ; nor in the social affections—they had done their office, he had done with them ; but it did consist in the calm beholding of the prospect before him, in the intense action of his moral and rational nature on the eternal and satisfying objects on which his affections were fixed. The bodily sufferings of Dr. Payson in his long and final illness were intense, without affecting in the least the clearness and vigor of his mind. It was therefore no delusion, when he declared that he was then happier than

at any previous period of his life. Here then we have an instance in which, with the exclusion of every thing else, in spite of pain, from the mere possession and activity of mind, happiness shone out, not only with unshorn beams, but with an augmented and purer light. But if we suppose the reason and moral powers destroyed, the eclipse is total, the idea of happiness is impossible. We must therefore conclude that a man on a sick and dying bed cannot be happy, or we must exclude from the essential idea of happiness every thing that cannot be found there. But this distinction is not exemplified in sickness and death alone, it runs through the whole of life. It is only in this, that we can find the secret of his happiness who suffers in any manner for the sake of principle, who is, it may be, imprisoned, or goes as a martyr to the stake ; it is in this alone that we can find the philosophy of self-sacrifice, and the solution of the fact that the road of self-denial is so often the road to happiness.

But the different sources of pleasure and happiness are further indicated by some important differences between the things themselves. The first that we shall notice has been already alluded to, and it is, that that law of habit by which impressions become feebler as they are longer continued, applies only to pleasure. "It is," says Paley, "a law of the machine for which we know no remedy, that the organs by which we receive pleasure are blunted and benumbed by being frequently exercised in the same way. There is hardly any one who has not found the difference between a gratification when new, and when familiar, or any *pleasure* which does not become indifferent as it grows habitual." Paley has here stated an important fact ; but if there be nothing but pleasure, how wretched must be the condition of human life, which supplies no fountain to drink at which will not soon be exhausted. To be well aware of this fact, however, is of the highest moment to those who are just setting out in life. With unworn susceptibilities, and a stranger to satiety, youth is strongly tempted to the pursuit of pleasure. Having entered upon it, it gradually compensates for diminished susceptibility by increase of stimulus, till premature decay is induced. By such a course, sooner or later, life must be drained to the dregs, and in its progress and consummation it is that we hear splenetic remarks about the world, and complaints against Providence, from men who have attempted to make of life what it was never intended

to be. "To make pleasure and mirth and jollity our business," says Butler, "and be constantly hurrying about after some gay amusement, some new gratification of sense or appetite, to those who will consider the nature of man and our condition in this world, will appear the most romantic scheme of life that ever entered into thought." The fact above mentioned is the basis of those common figures which represent us as grasping at the rose but finding the thorn, or which picture the path of pleasure as at first alluring and strown with flowers, but after a time becoming sterile and dreary, and terminating at length in an obscure and frightful wilderness. The morning of life is the high noon of pleasure, and well is it, if, as that fickle orb declines, as decline it must, there shall arise a steadier and purer light to cheer in life's later years, those eyes which must otherwise "turn and turn and find no ray." And such a light may arise, for active habits of virtue, which are to happiness what the substance is to its shadow, are as much strengthened by repetition as the effect of passive impressions is diminished. This is the law of our frame, and a most beneficent one it is. Were it otherwise, virtue, as it becomes more habitual and perfect, would be less happy—were it otherwise, the whole framework of man's nature would have to be new-modelled to prevent the high and pure joys of heaven from degenerating into mere insipidity. As it is, there is an analogy between our moral, our intellectual, and our physical frame. In all three, activity is both the sign and the source of strength, and moral strength is just so much perfection and so much happiness. In this important respect then, pleasure and happiness are entirely contrasted. The one is like a vessel full and sparkling at first, but gradually wasting away and becoming vapid; the other, like a fountain whose waters well up the more freely the more they overflow.

So far as man is concerned, there seems also to be a difference in the rank which pleasure and happiness respectively holds in the arrangements of nature. Pleasure is seldom, perhaps never, like happiness, made an ultimate end by her, but only an expedient by which to bring about her ends. It seems to be the inducement which she holds out to her creatures to lead them to acts which are to have remote consequences of which the creatures themselves are often ignorant. Thus, the pleasure of eating is not the end proposed by nature in inducing us to eat, it is simply the

leading-string, an agreeable one to be sure, by which she brings us to do that which is necessary for the strengthening of our bodies. It is, therefore, in perfect accordance with her design, that while the desire of that which is still future is strong, the remembrance of that which is past should be indistinct, and little worth. The pleasure has done its office. Hence the very different feelings with which we reflect upon different enjoyments. Happiness, on reflection, may not only become a source of satisfaction, but an object of moral approbation, and thus multiply and extend itself indefinitely; pleasure never can. It is, indeed, said by Paley in his *Natural Theology*, that "the Deity has superadded *pleasure* to animal sensations beyond what was necessary for any other purpose;" but the senses are the inlets of information, which is a necessary condition of happiness, and it may be doubted whether, under any other arrangement, we should ever have voluntarily exercised them so far as to attain the knowledge without which we could not be happy.

We shall mention but one difference more, and that is the permanence of happiness when compared with pleasure. This arises from the permanence of the objects and relations from which it is derived. As every thing without is variable, this can be found only in permanent being and its essential manifestations, voluntary, rational, and, to borrow a term from Mackintosh, which is very much needed, *emotive* or *pathematic*. The difference in question may perhaps be best illustrated by a reference to ideas and relations, which are the necessary product of the rational powers, and the basis of emotion. These are of two kinds. There are first, mathematical ideas and relations which the mind conceives of as necessary and unchangeable. The ideal existence of certain curves and angles would remain, if matter were annihilated, for they are independent of all matter and of all will, remaining under all circumstances immutably the same. Between these abstract conceptions and the actual constitution and laws of matter, there is a remarkable harmony which must have struck every thinking mind. How came this to be? How happens it that the facts of optics, or astronomy, for instance, can be demonstrated from their conformity to these conceptions? for it is only by the harmony of the two that mathematics can be the instrument of investigation in physics. The solution would seem to be, that these abstractions were the exemplar in the divine mind



to which the constitution and movements of matter are conformed. The laws of natural philosophy and chemistry can most of them be expressed by the formulas of mathematics. But these are not the only permanent ideas and relations, nor is this the only harmony between things abstract and things real, that is revealed to man. As, from the suggestions made by the imperfect curves observed in nature, the mind forms to itself the idea of those that are perfect; so from the glimpses of beauty and excellence discerned in actual being, it forms, by its own proper force, the idea of a beauty and an excellence that are perfect—from the idea of time it passes at once to eternity—from that of space to infinity—from its own acts it gains the ideas of power and of liberty, and it rises to the conception of a principle of unity in all things. Involved in these ideas, and equally necessary, are those others which depend on relations, such as order, fitness, harmony and proportion. The ideal beauty and excellence which the mind can thus form to itself, it is capable of making an object of desire, and of attaining. This it is which renders man capable of self-improvement, “which is possible to any being only by a reflective observation of his own acts, and then by a comparison of them with an ideal excellence which he is capable of conceiving, and to which he is sensible he may conform.” This idea of excellence is as complete and independent as any mathematical abstraction. It is conceived of as the law of man’s being, as much as the ellipse is as the curve of the earth’s revolution, and the mind bears the same relation to it, that the earth would to the ellipse were it an intelligent being capable of conforming itself to that curve by volition. Between nature and the abstractions of mathematics there is a harmony preserved by forces impressed from without; between the pure ideas of excellence and beauty, and man, there is a harmony which is *to be* preserved by the conscious and voluntary exertion of a force originating from within. The earth has no conception of that ideal ellipse in which it is to move, nor any agency in conforming to it; man has a conception of the course of excellence he is to pursue and is voluntary in pursuing it. It would seem therefore, that what nature is to the abstractions of mathematics, man is to the abstract conceptions of moral beauty and excellence. The mathematician is assured that he can return to the contemplation of his verities whenever he pleases, and that nothing but the de-

struction of his own powers can destroy his relation to them as objects of contemplation and sources of enjoyment. This is what we mean by a permanent source of happiness. But the great ideas above mentioned are equally independent, and far more intimate to the mind of man, being wrought into it as the name of Phidias was into the statue, so that in order to blot them out, the mind must be destroyed. It will be observed too, that these ideas and relations are not viewed by man with the mere intellectual satisfaction with which he contemplates those of mathematics; they create an enthusiasm, a vivid sense of delight peculiar to themselves, and it is in viewing them that the mind seems to respire as in its native element. "There are," says Butler, "certain ideas which we express by the words, order, harmony, proportion, beauty, the furthest removed from any thing sensual. Now, what is there in those intellectual images, forms, or ideas, which begets that approbation, love, delight, and even rapture, which is seen in some persons' faces upon having those objects present to their minds?" It is the distinction of man, that he is capable of forming these great ideas and of putting himself and his acts in harmony with them. Nor is this removing happiness into a region remote from human life, since there is no voluntary act to which this excellence and conformity may not belong. There may be, as Coleridge says, "a contraction of universal truths into particular duties, as the image of the sun may be defined in a dew-drop; and it is only in this way that these truths can attain life and reality." What are all the forms of beauty but reflections of one central idea? And what are the graceful and heroic acts of duty which ennoble life, but varied expressions of the one idea of duty?

What is said above is true while we remain in the region of abstraction, but when we consider these ideas as being what they really are, as bearing the same relation to mind, as its primary qualities do to matter, as constituents of it, or rather forms of its manifestation, and as existing perfectly in God to whom by communion in them we are related, then it is that we pass from philosophy to religion, from the region of abstraction to that of reality, to that of the affections, of obedience and love; to a pure and permanent happiness. It is at this point that duty and happiness, liberty and necessity coalesce—the highest duty with the most perfect happiness, the most perfect liberty in pursuing our duty with the

most binding necessity, and the only necessity known in morals, that by which we are obliged to conform to the laws of our moral being. There was a period in the history of man in which this conformity existed, and then he was happy; and it is only by a return of this conformity that happiness can return. How entirely all this is contrasted with pleasure as defined above, shifting, transitory and uncertain as it is, we need not say.

What we say then, is, that there is a real difference in kind between the enjoyments of man, based on the distinction between powers and susceptibilities; that in the one kind he is active, for in reference to powers there is no passivity, and can be none, and in the other passive; that the one produces satiety, and is subject to that law of habits by which it constantly diminishes, while the other produces no satiety, and by the opposite law may constantly increase; that the one is made an ultimate end by nature, and is connected with moral approbation, the other is not; that the one depends upon objects and relations that are permanent, the other does not. It is not pretended, that in a being like man, it is always easy to mark the precise limit between the two, more than it is in other cases in which there is an imperceptible blending of two things, as of light and darkness, which are yet entirely distinct. It is only the broad facts for which we contend, and these seem to us to be of great practical moment.

Do we then, in making this distinction, suppose that pleasure is not a good? Far from it. We suppose pleasure and happiness to be, not indeed equal elements, but equally elements of human *well-being*. We simply say that pleasure is a very inferior element of human good, which must be subordinated and give way whenever it would conflict with happiness; that if we neglect it entirely in our calculations, it will come unbidden, but that if, as men too generally do, we make it our end, we shall certainly be disappointed. Were we to form an idea of the perfect well-being of man in whom the animal and spiritual nature are united, it would result from a condition in which the susceptibilities should meet only with objects that would give them pleasure, and in which the powers, intellectual and moral, should find their appropriate objects, and act in perfect conformity with their laws—in which there should be a union in the highest compatible degree, of pleasure and happiness.

These remarks are perhaps sufficiently extended, but we cannot close without a brief inquiry respecting the conditions on which this complex good may be attained.

It has already been said that the only condition on which enjoyment of any kind can be conceived of, is the action of some power upon its appropriate object, or of some susceptibility from its adapted stimulus. There can be no enjoyment that is not perceived, nor any perception without activity, which is, therefore, involved in the very idea of enjoyment. There is, we know, a notion of enjoyment as resulting from quiescence; from repose; this, however, is not from an absolute, but from a relative inactivity. Absolute inactivity is death. There is, in many people, an inertness and sluggishness, which they seem to enjoy; their minds, like the kaleidoscope, present at every turn, the forms which chance may happen to turn up, and there is in their happiness, if such it may be called, as little intelligence and dignity as can belong to beings constituted as they are. Their bark, intrusted to themselves, is afloat upon the waters; but, heedless of the stranded vessels and bleaching bones of those who have preceded, they suffer it to drift on as it lists, when they ought to watch the compass and ply the oar. In this dreamy listlessness, there is something which acts on many minds like infatuation, and it is the "enchanted ground" on which they fall asleep in their pilgrimage through this world. But the proper enjoyment of man is essentially intelligent and active, and we cannot too well remember that the great condition of all strong and well-defined enjoyment, is *vigorous and intelligent activity*. There is, indeed, a legitimate enjoyment in repose after activity, but it is one accorded to the weakness of our nature. A perfect being needs no repose.

But as all activity is not productive of enjoyment, the practical inquiry is, how it should be directed. This leads us to a consideration of the harmony there is between man and the universe, or at least, that part of it in relation to which he is called to act. It is in this harmony that we shall find the principle, the measure, and the end of the laws of nature as acting upon man. Whether man shall conform to these laws, is at his own option, but it is not at his option whether he shall be under them; he is so from the very constitution of things. The liberty of nature, like that of our own country, is the liberty of order and of law,



and no more in one than in the other, can any wrong-headed person do what he pleases without punishment.

Of these laws, there are three kinds with which man is chiefly concerned, viz : physical laws, organic laws, and the moral law. To the first of these he is related as corporeal, as mere matter ; to the second, as a living, organized frame ; and to the third, as a rational and accountable being.

In our remarks upon these laws, and the relation of man to them, especially the first two, we shall avail ourselves of the views of Dr. Combe, the phrenologist, in his work "*On the Constitution of Man.*" Between these views and phrenology, there is no necessary connection, more than there is between chemistry and alchemy ; but the phrenologists, though they seem to have been suggested by Butler, were the first fully to expand and insist upon them. Had those writers confined themselves to them, or at least given them separately, these views would doubtless have been more widely extended, and less frequently doled out surreptitiously by anonymous writers. They respect what are termed the natural laws, and of their soundness we have no doubt.

"In attending to the natural laws," says Dr. Combe, "several important principles strike us very early, viz. 1. Their independence of each other ; 2. Obedience to each of them is attended with its own reward, and disobedience with its own punishment ; 3. They are universal, unbending, and invariable in their operations ; 4. They are in harmony with the constitution of man."

The following passage will be sufficient to illustrate the independence, distinct rewards, and unbending operation of these laws. "A ship floats, because a part of it being immersed, displaces a weight of water equal to its whole weight, leaving the remaining part above the fluid. A ship therefore will float on the surface of the water as long as these physical conditions are observed, though the men in it shall infringe other natural laws ; as, for example, although they should rob, murder, blaspheme, and commit every species of debauchery ; and it will sink whenever the physical conditions are subverted, however strictly the crew and other passengers may obey the other laws here adverted to. In like manner, a man who swallows poison which destroys the stomach and intestines, will die, just because an organic law has been infringed, and because it is independent of others, although he should have taken the drug by mistake, or been the most

pious and charitable individual on earth. Or, thirdly, a man may cheat, lie, steal, tyrannize, and in short, break a great variety of the moral laws, and nevertheless be fat and rubicund, if he sedulously observe the organic laws of temperance and exercise, which determine the condition of the body ; while on the other hand, an individual who neglects these, may pine in disease, and be racked by torturing pains, although at the very moment, he may be devoting his mind to the highest duties of humanity."

The harmony of these laws with the constitution of man may be illustrated by a reference to that of gravitation. "To place man in harmony with this, the Creator has bestowed on him bones, muscles, and nerves, constructed on the most perfect principles of mechanism, which enable him to preserve his equilibrium, and to adapt his movements to its influence ; and also intellectual faculties calculated to perceive the existence of the law, its modes of operation, the relation between it and himself, the beneficial consequences of observing this relation, and the painful consequences of infringing it. When a person falls from a house and is maimed or killed ; when a ship springs a leak and sinks ; or when a reservoir pond breaks down its banks and ravages a valley, we ought to trace the evil back to its cause, which will uniformly resolve itself into the infringement of a natural law, and then endeavor to discover whether this could or could not have been prevented, by a due exercise of the physical and mental powers bestowed on man. By pursuing this course, we shall arrive at sound conclusions concerning the adaptation of the human mind and body to the physical laws of the universe. The more minutely any one inquires, the more firm will be his conviction, that in these relations admirable provision is made by the Creator for human happiness, and that the evils which arise from the neglect of them, are attributable, to a great extent, to man's not applying his powers to the promotion of his own enjoyment."

The law of gravitation applies to man as a physical being ; but he is also an organized being. The primary requisite to his well-being as such, is, that his constitution should be originally sound and complete in all its parts. With this condition, "the first organic law is, that the organized being, the moment it is ushered into life, and so long as it continues to live, must be supplied with food, light, air, and other

physical aliment necessary for its support, in due quantity, and of the kind best suited to its particular constitution. Obedience to this law is rewarded with a vigorous and healthy development of its powers; and in animals with a pleasing consciousness of existence, and aptitude for the performance of the natural functions; disobedience to it is punished with feebleness, stunted growth, general imperfection, and death. A second organic law, applicable to man, is, that he shall duly exercise his organs, this condition being an indispensable requisite to health. The reward of obedience to this law, is enjoyment in the very act of exercising the functions, pleasing consciousness of existence, and the acquisition of numberless gratifications, of which labor, or the exercise of our powers, is the procuring means: the penalty of neglecting this law, is debility, bodily and mental, lassitude, imperfect digestion, disturbed sleep, bad health, and if carried to a certain extent, death. The penalty for over-exerting the system, is exhaustion, mental incapacity, the desire of strong artificial stimulants, general insensibility, and grossness of feeling and perception, with disease and shortened life. Society has not recognized this law, and in consequence, the higher orders despise labor, and suffer the first penalty; while the lower orders are oppressed with toil, and undergo the second. The penalties serve to provide motives for obedience to the law, and whenever it is recognized, and the consequences discovered to be inevitable, men will no longer shun labor as painful and ignominious, but resort to it as a source of pleasure, as well as to avoid the pains inflicted on those who neglect it."

To these laws as bearing on man, we attach great importance. It must not be supposed, because we place happiness where we do, that we wish to disregard or to underrate the body and its faculties. So far are we from this, that we are satisfied it is not enough attended to; that men do not consider themselves under the laws of God in regard to its management, and that it is impossible for the reason and moral powers to have their proper action, when any of the laws relating to it are habitually disobeyed. Take the instance of intemperance, in which men bring upon themselves destruction, by the violation of an organic law, and see how soon, when this is abandoned, a moral reformation often follows. A few years since many good men, in their ignorance, drank ardent spirits, which are not adapted to the organiza-

tion of man ; and now that they have abandoned it, they can feel that they have risen in their intellectual and moral strength. But this is not the only habit that may sit, like an incubus, upon a man. The time will come, when men will look back upon habits of indolence, and intemperance in eating, with the same kind, if not with the same degree of feeling, as now, upon intemperance in ardent spirits. Men need enlightening on this subject, and we should not think it below the dignity of the pulpit to enforce the observance of these laws of God also, not simply on their own account, but from their connection with the moral law. For the same reason that preaching can have no effect upon a drunkard, it will have less than it would otherwise upon him who violates any other organic law, and thus dwarfs his energies as a man.

The more the physical and organic laws are scrutinized, the more they will be found for the benefit of man, when their requisitions are complied with. And as man has faculties by which he can discover and obey them, the evils which take place under them, evils which comprise a vast deal of the suffering in this world, are to be imputed to his own fault, to his ignorance and folly, and not to an inscrutable providence. Let us reverence providence, but let us not charge it foolishly. Most, if not all the diseases that are not hereditary, and these, originally, spring from vice, from some violation of the physical, organic, or moral laws, in the way of excess or defect. There can be no doubt but a healthy child may, as men have done, pass, in obedience to the organic laws, his whole life without pain, and die only from natural decay, as a clock stops when the weights are down. Providence is kind to man ; the whole progress of science shows that nature is a friend to man, but then this kindness consists in maintaining sternly those beneficial laws by which man may regulate himself, and not in accommodating them to his individual ignorance or caprice. Suppose, for instance, a delicate young lady, after having been in a crowded assembly, to expose herself in a thin dress, to the damp cold air, and the consequence to be consumption and death. Both she and her friends may resign themselves to the will of Providence, but Providence had no more to do with it, than with an act of suicide. An organic law was violated in one case as well as in the other, though with less guilt, and the penalty was paid.

This view of these laws, and especially of their indepen-



dence, accounts for much of the apparent confusion which we observe in the distribution of happiness, and shows that suffering generally falls where it ought. A man who does not obey the organic laws, must and ought to suffer the consequent evil, whatever his moral character may be. Infractions of these laws are commonly called imprudences, and not guilt; and we may also see the reason why the former are often punished apparently with more severity than the latter. The whole penalty of a physical or organic law, is often exacted at once, the reckoning of guilt, is reserved till a future day.

In reference to these laws, man is strictly under probation. He can obey or not, as he pleases, but then the consequences are his own. They all admit of more or less violation, not without punishment, but without that which is final; but when transgressed to a certain point, there is no room for repentance, and the system on which they bear is destroyed without remedy. When this point is reached, nature knows no pity, and her hand never falters. Severe in her goodness, she will sacrifice a whole race, sooner than swerve in the least from her laws. Facts like these, constantly written as by an invisible hand, on the scroll of nature and of Providence, constitute characters, which vice, if it were not besotted, would read and tremble; for it cannot be supposed, if God is so exact and fearful in his reckoning under these minor laws, that he will stay his hand when called upon to sustain the more imposing and awful sanctions of the moral law.

We have already referred to this law, and it will not be necessary now to spend much time upon it. It is superior to the others, and supreme. Other laws act upon us from without, but this is the internal law of our being, the law of man as man. He may infringe other laws as an animal, and be punished as an animal, but the transgression of this law is *guilt*, it is sin, and without some remedial process, is moral suicide and death; for it is, if possible, even more unbending than the others. "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but not one jot or tittle of the law shall fail." It is for man as having transgressed this law, that heaven has been moved; it is over him as restored to the acknowledgment of its supremacy, that angels rejoice. Its penalties and rewards, as bearing upon us, are immediate and ultimate. The immediate penalty is the loss of a good conscience, the con-

consciousness of not deserving the esteem and affection of others, disorder of the faculties, the tyranny of the passions, the pains of remorse, and fearful forebodings for the future; the immediate reward, is, a good conscience, a consciousness of deserving the esteem and affection of others, inward peace consisting in the activity of well-balanced powers, a sense of present security, and a cheerful assurance of good for the future. The remote penalty, to say nothing of positive infliction, consists in the complete and final disorder and warfare of the powers, in a condition in which restoration shall be hopeless, thus constituting an undying death; the ultimate reward, and that to which every good man hopes to come, consists in a restoration to perfect obedience, in an identification of the principle of the law with the will, consequently of desire with volition, and in the full and harmonious activity of all the powers without weariness and without apprehension. But whatever may be the rewards and penalties of the moral law, it is not more certain that the physical and organic well-being of man depend on his observance of the physical and organic laws, than it is that his moral well-being depends on his obedience to the moral law.

We are now prepared, from the comparison which has been made between the powers and susceptibilities of man, and from the relations which he has been shown to sustain to the various laws under which he is, not to give a definition of human well-being, as distinguished from happiness, but to say that it results, and must result, from the activity of the powers and susceptibilities of man, in harmony with each other, and with the laws of God.

We have then, the three terms, pleasure, happiness, and well-being, expressive of the good which may belong to man. From this whole discussion, it will appear that the Epicurean solution of the question respecting the *summum bonum*, which made it consist in pleasure, involved a partial truth, involved one of the elements of that good; that the solution of the Stoics, which made it consist in conformity to the moral law, without regard to pleasure or pain, also involved a partial truth, involved another element of that good; and that the true solution lies in the harmony of the two. Still these two sects were not equally right, since the elements which they severally adopted are by no means equal. Virtue is not the only good, but it is the supreme good of man, and whenever a desire for pleasure would obstruct the

fulfilment of the moral law, which alone is virtue and happiness, it must be repressed. It is very much from the fact that many pleasures are incompatible with virtue, that this world is a place of probation. On the one hand pleasure solicits, on the other duty commands, and a struggle ensues. But from the comparison made between the powers of man and the laws under which he acts, it is evident that conformity to the proper law of his being, to the moral law, must be his supreme good, that with this conformity, pleasure may come in as an inferior element of well-being, but that without it, happiness is impossible.

Thus, to those who will consider, it is very obvious what our position is in this world, what are the destinies with which we are intrusted, and how we are intrusted with them. We are a part, a very small part to be sure, but still a part, of that stupendous universe which has emerged to our view out of the eternity that is past, and is sweeping on with unexhausted energies to that which is to come. With the majestic and unswerving laws by which the whole is moved, we are in relation ; with us, therefore, it rests, whether we shall, by opposing ourselves to their resistless course, be whelmed and swept to ruin, or whether, in the recognition of their legitimacy and wisdom, and in voluntary co-operation with them, we shall throw ourselves upon the tide, and be borne onward and upward in *well-being* forever.

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## ARTICLE II.

### EDUCATION APPLICABLE TO THE EMOTIVE NATURE.

HAVING for its object the development of nature, education will never have attained its best results, until it shall have been efficiently applied to every thing in the human constitution which can feel its influence. To form a perfect theory upon the subject, therefore, is a task of no little

difficulty, since it supposes an accurate knowledge of all that essentially belongs to man.

It is only within a comparatively recent period, however, that education has been regarded as a science, and as presenting a wide field of observation and discovery. A single glance at the past will show us, that in most ages it has been under the control of accidental influences, and has taken its character from the circumstances of the times; and aiming rather at meeting particular exigencies, than at the attainment of general perfection, it has bestowed upon the most obvious things the first and greatest share of its attention.

As men must necessarily be dependent for their very existence on their physical powers, the means of improving and applying these would naturally first be sought. Accordingly in the earliest ages of the world, mankind devoted themselves chiefly to physical pursuits. Agriculture, the practice of the mechanic arts, and war, were esteemed of the highest consequence. To be well educated then, was to have acquired skill in some branch of manual labor, or to have been trained by athletic exercises to endure the toils of military service. Mental cultivation received attention only so far as it was a necessary means to the attainment of these and similar ends. Even so late as the era of Grecian greatness, one of her most illustrious cities regarded attention to knowledge for its own sake as effeminate and pernicious.

By degrees, however, the world advanced another step. It was perceived that there was no end to invention and discovery;—that nothing but increased mental activity was wanting in order to multiply indefinitely the means of supplying the wants and augmenting the happiness of men;—that such activity was itself a source of elevated pleasure; and that each new development of mind, and every addition to existing knowledge, was so much done to refine and improve the human race. Intellectual improvement then began to be sought for its own sake, and with more enlarged and accurate views of its bearing on the destinies of the world. Schools sprung up and were thronged with pupils. Libraries were founded, and became a favorite resort. The learned were heard and honored; and even the warrior might enhance his glory by success on the arena of intellectual strife. Such was the state of things in the best days of ancient learning.

Subsequently, by the triumph of barbarism over civilization, the world was thrown back into something like its



primitive condition. Matter again triumphed over mind. The achievements of genius were neglected and forgotten. War aggressive or defensive became one of the chief occupations of society, and superiority in physical force the highest object of ambition. Education of course changed with the change of public sentiment. In place of the shades of academies and the schools of Italy, baronial castles became the places of resort for education; and tilts and tournaments and predatory warfare, the scenes amid which men sought distinction. The few who devoted themselves to study, lived chiefly in obscurity, and were regarded as possessing the spirit of another age.

Since the reformation and the revival of learning, a powerful reaction has taken place in favor of the intellect, so that the mental achievements of modern times have cast into the shade the attainments of past ages. Most of them too, have been of such a nature as to be appreciated by all classes of society; because their results have been felt by all. The humblest laborer daily reaps the benefit of the philosopher's discovery and research, in the increased productiveness of his labor, and in the multiplication of his means of subsistence and of happiness. Hence intellectual education has come to be appreciated somewhat in proportion to its value, by the more enlightened portions of civilized society. It is understood that a cultivated mind is a lever, which, without the condition of Archimedes, can move a world; and vigorous efforts are made to multiply the facilities for the improvement of the intellect, by improving the means and methods of instruction.

In this brief reference to the somewhat familiar history of education, it is our object to bring into view the fact, that its highest efforts hitherto have terminated on the intellect; and that

‘sana mens, in corpore sano,’

seems to be the beau ideal even of the present age. The interesting inquiry now presents itself, Is there not yet another and higher step to which education should advance? Is there not something yet remaining in our nature to which it should be applied?

On this subject philosophy is in advance of education. It has recognized in man, not only a physical and intellectual, but also an *emotive* or *affective* nature;—a nature to which are to be referred his permanent tempers and dispositions,

together with those affections and emotions which are called forth by various circumstances and occasions. But although most of our systems of metaphysical philosophy assume the existence of the emotive nature, and though some have even undertaken to analyze the states or feelings to which it is its province to give rise, yet since it has been examined rather as a matter of curious speculation, than as a subject of the highest practical importance, it has received nothing like a thorough investigation. Even its influence over the intellectual nature, one of the most obvious and important of its relations, has scarcely received the slightest illustration. Much less have its own fundamental laws, and its capacities for improvement, been unfolded. While the great diversities which exist in the phenomena of the emotive nature in different individuals, have always been too obvious to pass unnoticed, the unphilosophical method of ascribing them to nature in the most absolute sense, has generally obtained. It has been taken for granted, for example, if an individual is moody or unsocial or irascible, or malignant, that these dispositions were the endowments with which he was so unfortunate as to have been invested at his birth; and the most that, in such cases, has usually been hoped from education, has been that it might impart to the *intellect*, sufficient power to enable it to impose some restraint upon these uncomfortable inmates of the mind.

In answer to the question, then, Is there not a higher point to which education may and ought to be carried? the answer is that there yet remains a field which has not even been explored, much less entered and possessed. It will not probably be doubted, that the emotive nature, no less than the intellectual, is susceptible of cultivation, when once it is distinctly made a question. The difficulty has been that no question has been started on the subject. By this we do not mean that there have not been single instances of inquiry; but that it has not been taken up in the *general* discussions on education, as a question to be examined and decided. Yet notwithstanding that, as before remarked, habits of feeling have been commonly supposed to have their origin in nature, it has been sufficiently well understood, that these habits might be modified materially by circumstances. But if such is allowed to be the fact, then must it not be admitted to be possible, so to control the circumstances which affect an individual, as to give to his feelings the particular charac-

ter and direction we desire? If particular dispositions are made predominant, and particular habits of feeling induced, by accidental influences, why not also by those which are the result of wise design? Is not the conclusion fully warranted that by a system of appropriate means constituting a course of judicious discipline, the affective nature may be harmoniously developed, and made to originate those tempers, dispositions, and emotions, which are productive of happiness alike to the possessor, and to those who feel his influence? Nor is there implied in this conclusion any extravagant belief in human perfectibility. It only affirms, that like the physical and intellectual, the emotive nature may be trained to proper habits by proper cultivation.

The most difficult part of the subject, however, is not to show that such results may be attained, but to ascertain the means to be employed for their attainment. This part of the subject opens a very extensive and untrodden field. We shall only attempt, at present, to indicate in a general manner the course to be pursued, without going into minute detail.

And in the first place it is obvious, that in order to the application of education to the affective nature, that nature must be thoroughly examined, and its philosophy definitely settled. That is, we must become acquainted with the elements upon which we are to act, discover the laws which obtain in this most subtle department of our being—and the manner in which influence can be applied. Who could adopt a system of education to the intellect without an acquaintance with the powers and laws of the intellectual nature? Much less would it be possible to do this with respect to that part of the human constitution which is still more complicated and Protean in its character. Without this preliminary knowledge, it is impossible to proceed intelligently a single step; and it is doubtless owing in a great degree to the want of it, and to the difficulties to be surmounted in its attainment, that the whole subject has been so much neglected. If individuals have occasionally learned a little by personal observation, they have either not attempted to communicate it, or have been unsuccessful in their efforts, and the results of their experience have perished with themselves. The investigation must be undertaken in the spirit of philosophy, and prosecuted with the patience and discrimination of accurate analysis, before the necessary work can be accomplished.

A second step towards the attainment of the object under consideration, must be an inquiry into the nature of temperament, for the purpose of ascertaining the causes which originally determine, or subsequently modify it, and the means by which its influence over the affective nature may be controlled. This subject, though but little understood, and less attended to, has nevertheless not been neglected altogether. It was early noticed by philosophers, that certain peculiarities of physical constitution were intimately connected with certain peculiar developments of the emotive nature. Hippocrates, according to Galen, was the first who attempted a classification. His arrangement established four genera, viz : the choleric, the melancholic, the sanguineous, and the phlegmatic. To these modern physiologists have added the nervous, making five in all. "Each of these temperaments," says a late distinguished writer, "how widely soever they may differ from each other, is capable of being transmuted into any of the rest. Galen has particularly dwelt upon this most important fact; and has especially observed, that a man of the most elevated and sanguineous constitution, may be broken down into a melancholic habit. While on the other hand the most restless and audacious of the choleric genus, may be attuned to the sleek quiet of the phlegmatic temper. Of what moment is this well-established fact in the nice science of education. The temperaments of boys may be born with them; but they are capable of alteration, nay of a total reversion, by discipline." If the views of this writer are correct, and we believe it would be difficult to show that they are not, is not a thorough acquaintance with the subject, indispensable to the education of the feelings? Upon physical temperament more probably than upon any single cause, the emotive temperament, or to use a different and perhaps more significant phraseology, the hue or habitude of the feeling is dependent. To understand the nature and management of the one, must we not, therefore, understand the nature and the management of the other? Must it not be a necessary consequence of ignorance, that measures will be taken, which will result in giving still greater prominence to dispositions and tempers which already need to be repressed, and thus produce the most unhappy deformities of character?

Thirdly, the causes which operate to vitiate and pervert the affective nature, must be sought out and exposed, that



they may be avoided. One who has the opportunity to become intimately acquainted with the inward character of numerous individuals, will soon be able not only to discover that such causes do exist, but also to determine what they are. Some of the most prolific as well as the most common, will be found in pernicious methods of exercising authority over those in early years. It would be an interesting task, to go into particulars on this part of the subject, and to mention facts which fall under the observation of teachers who bring together individuals of different families, and trained under different systems, and are thus able to compare results. But our limits permit us at present only to enumerate without exemplifying.

Other causes of vitiated feeling which operate at a later period, may be found in the false views which are presented in such forms as to give them peculiar influence over the affective nature. This is done in a variety of ways; through the medium, for example, of bad associates, pernicious books, and corrupting pleasures. But there is one instance in which this evil is committed upon a regular system and with sad success, which the importance of the subject compels us to notice more particularly. If a deliberate plan had been formed to defile the fountain of the feelings, a more certain method of accomplishing the object could hardly have been devised, than that of placing before the young such pernicious materials as make up most of the popular music of the day, to be conned over till its spirit is inwrought as it were, into their very being. And this, too, happens to that age and sex to which it is most likely to prove incurably pernicious. False sentiment, dressed in the attire of graceful verse, adapted to the touching strains of music, and made the means alike of cheering the solitary hour, and of enlivening the social circle, cannot fail without a miracle to obtain a power over the associations which shall prove corrupting to the heart. We will not take as an instance one of the hundreds relating to war or love; but one which is usually ranked with the very best; the familiar "There's nothing true but heaven." And what does it contain? Certainly not a word of truth from the beginning to end. It is a miserable caricature of all just views of life; exactly fitted to foster morbid sensibility, or to sow the seeds of misanthropic bitterness. With such as this, however, and with many much more pernicious, the minds of thousands of

young persons are brought into close communion, during almost all the time in which the character is forming. And thus, one of the most efficient means of affective culture, is prostituted to the perversion of that nature which it is designed to purify.

In the fourth place, a judicious system of means must be employed to act directly upon the emotive nature, for the purpose of drawing forth right tempers and dispositions, and rendering them habitual. Those who have paid any attention to the cultivation of the feelings, have generally, as already intimated, contented themselves with endeavoring to correct whatever forced itself upon their attention as amiss, in the spontaneous manifestations of undisciplined nature. But surely this is wholly an inadequate method of proceeding. The affective nature has doubtless its established laws; and there is every reason to suppose, that in the manner in which its susceptibilities are affected by the causes which act upon them, there is a general uniformity. If such is the fact, then we may apply our influences with no less certainty of accomplishing what we wish, than exists in other departments of education. The baron Degerando is almost the only writer on education, who seems to have regarded such a thing as possible; and even he does not express himself definitely upon the matter. His treatise on self-education, however, though it has some obvious defects, contains, as it seems to us, more profound views of man as a being capable of improvement, than any other work before the public. Unfortunately the very fact that it is profound, seems likely to prevent its being read sufficiently to make its influence felt. But even if the two or three works which may be found having some bearing on the subject, should receive all the attention they deserve, still would much more remain to be accomplished. To devise a plan which will fully attain the object, will require, beyond a doubt, the results of deep reflection, and the wisdom of experience. But the end may ultimately be attained; and the labor which shall be bestowed will then find a rich reward.

As the plan of our present remarks confines us, as we have already stated, to general views, we cannot of course attempt to point out particularly the direct means of affective education. That is in itself an extensive subject; and would require an examination of numerous facts relating to the influence of different studies, different modes of dis-

cipline, and different means of recreation upon the emotive nature. In respect to studies, for example, it might be shown that almost every distinguished naturalist, with whose private character the world has been made acquainted, has been remarkable for refined sensibilities and a happy affective temperament; and hence important inferences might be drawn. And proceeding in the same manner with other subjects, it would seem no difficult matter, to attain all that can be desired. We hope ourselves, to resume this part of the subject at a future opportunity.

We have now, in conclusion, only to sum up briefly the views which it has been our aim to state in general terms. We have regarded education as properly threefold: viz. physical, intellectual, and emotive. We have attempted to show that no general system has ever gone beyond the second stage;—that the third has high claim on our attention;—and that by studying that part of our constitution to which it relates, in itself and in its connection with the physical system—by ascertaining and preventing corrupting causes, and, finally, by directly applying appropriate means, it is possible to secure not only vigorous bodies and energetic minds, but also, well-regulated sensibilities and happy hearts—happy, we mean, so far as happiness depends upon the resources which are within ourselves. The consideration of the subject in its moral bearings, belongs appropriately to that part which is reserved, and we therefore leave it without notice here.

If in the views which have been presented, there is any truth, there is certainly great importance. For though a man's sinews should be of brass and his frame of iron, though his intellect should be omniscient, and his stores of knowledge inexhaustible, yet if the fountain of his feelings overflows with bitterness, he will be miserable completely and beyond a cure. The poet speaks the language of truth as well as beauty when he says,

The rill is tuneless to his ear, who feels  
No harmony within; the south wind steals  
As silent as unseen among the leaves.  
Who *has* no inward beauty, none perceives  
Though all around is beautiful. Nay more,  
In nature's calmest hour, he hears the roar  
Of winds and flinging waves;—puts out the light  
When high and angry passions meet in fight.  
And his own spirit into tumult hurl'd  
He makes a turmoil of a quiet world.  
The fiends of his own bosom, people air,  
With kindred fiends that hunt him to despair!

## ARTICLE III.

## ON THE FOUNDATION OF MORAL DISTINCTIONS.

MUCH time and labor have been spent in framing theories of morals. So various, however, and in many cases so unintelligible have these theories been, that they might almost lead one to doubt whether there be any real difference between right and wrong. Since ethical writers disagree so much respecting the basis on which moral distinctions rest, and in determining that basis, they have run into such subtle and difficult speculations, it might almost be supposed that if there be any fixed principles in ethics, they are so far beyond the reach of common minds, as not to possess any practical utility. It is not our design to discuss the merits of the systems which others have formed, but simply to lay down what we conceive to be the true and the only foundation of moral distinctions. Much, if not all of the obscurity in which this subject has been involved, has arisen from a desire to separate ethics from religion, and to set up a standard of right and wrong, which should be wholly independent of revelation. We are averse to such a measure; we believe that when carried into effect, it leaves the whole science of morals on a basis as unstable and uncertain as the top of an ocean wave, and therefore, as it regards any salutary influence which it might exert over the conduct of men, utterly inefficient and useless. Moral and religious obligations flow from the same source and in the same channel; if they differ at all, it is only in the subjects to which they respectively apply. They are all derived from the relations which we sustain to the moral governor of the universe. Men are fully aware that they owe their existence, their physical and mental organization to some superior power, that no part or property of their bodies or their minds is of their own creating; they are also aware that every thing by which their wants are supplied, every thing which contributes to their comfort or their happiness is derived from the bounty of another, that nothing which they possess is of their own procuring. This sense of entire and absolute dependence forces itself upon every mind. Founded as it is on the occurrences of every hour, every moment, and strengthened



by every instance of enjoyment or suffering which falls to the lot of man, it is impossible to destroy it by any process which leaves the intellectual powers unimpaired. Here is the source of obligation and responsibility. The being who has created man, who has placed him in his present circumstances, and is constantly bestowing upon him new expressions of his goodness, certainly has a right to direct all his movements and to control him in the exercise of all his powers. This right does not arise from the character of God considered in itself, but solely from the relations which God sustains to man, as his creator, preserver and benefactor. Were man independent of the Supreme Being, he would owe that being no homage; could he render him a full equivalent for every thing which he has received from him, he would in that case also be absolved from all obligation. But related as he now is, his obligations are commensurate with the favors which have been conferred upon him. As these favors include every thing which pertains to his physical and intellectual constitution, every thing by which his necessities are provided for, or his comfort and happiness promoted, so his obligations extend to every feeling of his heart and every action of his life. The mind of man is so constructed, that it perceives these obligations and acknowledges their force. This sense of its responsibility is exactly proportional to its sense of dependence on the divine bounty and its views of the blessings which have flowed in upon it from that source. They who are aware that they have been peculiarly favored, regard their obligations as peculiarly strong. A striking proof of this may be derived from the feelings of those who live under the light of the gospel. They look upon their guilt in having abused the mercy of God offered to them through the blood of his Son, as infinitely greater than that of the heathen, who have sinned without the knowledge of a Redeemer, and therefore without rejecting and despising the salvation which has been provided for fallen man.

A sense of obligation is a different thing from the fear of punishment or the hope of reward. It might exist without even being accompanied by the one or the other. The great defect in the ethical system of Dr. Paley lies in this, that he has made all moral obligation to arise from the circumstance, that God is able to render unto every man according to his works. It is true that hope and fear are

powerful motives and that they operate in the same direction, If I may so speak, with that feeling of responsibility of which we are treating ; but if the Supreme Being were not able or not disposed to reward or punish his creatures according to their conduct, not only would their obligations to him remain the same, but even their sense of those obligations would still exist in all its force. The selfish system of Paley is contradicted by every man's experience, and it is strange that he did not find it contradicted by his own. Rewards and punishments are founded on our obligations ; our hope of the former and our fear of the latter arise from our need of those obligations, and Paley has departed from the truth by reversing this order of things.

Our obligations to God being unlimited, we feel ourselves bound to do every thing which God requires, and to refrain from every thing which he has forbidden. Hence the law of God is our only rule of action ; every motive and every deed, which is agreeable to that law, we consider to be right ; every motive and deed which is contrary to that law, we consider to be wrong. The conscience of man, respecting which so much has been said, is the mind perceiving its obligation to render implicit obedience to the law of God and determining the moral character of its own exercises or the actions of others according to that law. So far as we conform ourselves to the law of God, so far we enjoy the approbation of our own hearts ; whenever we violate that law, our hearts condemn us. That this is the case, appears

1. From the testimony of Scripture. The apostle Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, declares that he should not have known sin, but by the law. I had not, says he, known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet. But sin taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. The law, when first revealed to the apostle in its full extent, did not render him any worse than he was before ; it is not itself sin, and it did not produce unholy affections in the apostle's heart ; those affections existed there previously ; but Paul supposed the temper of his mind to be right in the sight of God, until he acquired just views of the law of God, and then this same temper of mind, which the law, properly understood, showed to be sinful, manifested itself in working all manner of iniquity. Without the law, sin was dead ; that is, the state of the heart,

though wholly wrong, did not appear to be wrong; indeed, it could not appear to be so, for the plain reason that those properties of the divine law to which it was opposed, were not at all apprehended. The apostle proceeds to say, that he was alive without the law once; that is, he thought himself holy and acceptable to God, and entitled to all the rewards promised to the obedient. But when the commandment came, when he understood the law in the full extent of its spirituality, sin revived; the temper of his mind showed itself to be sinful, and he died; he lost all his former confidence in his obedience, and saw himself to be wicked, condemned, and ruined.

Now had there been in the apostle's case any criterion, by which to judge of right and wrong, except the law of God, he could not have remained ignorant of the true state of his heart so long. By the law and the law alone is the knowledge of sin; so far as the law is understood, so far and no further there is a perception of moral good and evil. Among the great number of other passages, which might be adduced in confirmation of this sentiment, I shall advert to one only; it is contained in the first epistle to the Corinthians. "The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law." The fear of death arises chiefly from the fact that sin has been committed; but sin, however heinous in itself, would cause no alarm, were it not known to be such by the law. It is the knowledge of the law which alone produces any sense of guilt, or any apprehension of punishment.

2. Another argument in favor of this position may be derived from the state of the heathen world. It is well known that the standards of moral rectitude acknowledged in different pagan nations, are very different; motives and actions which are condemned in one place, are applauded in another, while in all those nations, the most shocking crimes are committed to a greater or less extent, without shame and without remorse. This state of things is not easily accounted for, without referring to the views which the heathen entertain of the character of the Deity. These views are imperfect and erroneous in the greatest degree, even so that they have changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Their conceptions of the divine law must be in exact accordance with their conceptions of the divine character. In attributing evil pas-

sions, impure desires, and vicious conduct to their deities, they make the rules, by which those imaginary deities are supposed to govern their subjects, sanction and enjoin the indulgence of such passions and desires, and the pursuit of such a course of living. The consciences of the heathen decide on questions of right and wrong, precisely according to the laws by which the moral system, of which they form a part, is in their view regulated, and their knowledge of such laws is derived solely from the attributes, with which they have invested their imaginary deities. If in practising the multiplied abominations, which this religion permits or prescribes, they feel some occasional misgivings, it is because they have some faint apprehensions of a nobler Being, who requires a purer worship. It is unnecessary to discuss the question whether the knowledge of a Supreme Being, and of a moral law, be innate or acquired; it is enough to understand that such knowledge universally exists in some form or other, and that it gives rise to all the moral distinctions which exist in the minds of men.

It would be perhaps too much to say, that, were there no conception of a Supreme Being, there would be no sense of moral obligation. Unmerited or unrequited benefactions, impose obligations which men always feel, even when these benefactions are conferred on them by their fellow-men. When captain Bligh asked Fletcher Christian, as he was pushing him over the side of the ship into the boat that was to afford him his only chance of escaping the perils of the broad Pacific, if he had not treated him with uniform kindness, Christian replied with horrid emotion, "'Tis that, 'tis that; I am in hell! I am in hell!" The favor, which this wretched man had received from his commander, laid him under strong obligations, and in violating those obligations, he felt a sense of guilt, which was undoubtedly the same in kind with that which men feel, when they violate their obligations to God. It is impossible, however, to erect a system of morals on the relations which men sustain to each other; the obligations arising from these relations are not sufficiently strong and permanent, they may be denied, evaded, or cancelled. An individual, who has become disaffected towards a benefactor, will sometimes repay the full value of every favor which he has received from him, in order that he may indulge his anger without restraint, or seek revenge without remorse. In our obligations to God there is no such deficiency; they



can neither be cancelled nor diminished ; they must always remain the same, except that they will increase in extent and strength as long as we exist. Besides, the relations subsisting between man and man, furnish us with no distinct rules, by which we may regulate our conduct. Every system of rules, which can be derived from them, must be destitute of that authority, without which rules are of no avail. The relations subsisting between man and his Maker, afford the only sure foundation of moral obligation, and the law of God affords the only infallible and authoritative guide of moral action. In teaching men their duty, we must refer them solely to the law of God ; in persuading them to discharge their duty, we must refer them solely to the relations, which render that law binding upon them. No other method can effect any thing for the moral improvement of the human race.

But it is said that there are a multiplicity of cases to which the law of God does not apply. To the truth of this statement, although it has been frequently made, and that, too, by distinguished men, we are not prepared to subscribe. A question comes before a civil tribunal ; it is very intricate and perplexing. Laws, statutes, precedents, and customs, must all be put in requisition to prepare the way for a correct decision ; and yet the truth is, that the question might be decided in five minutes to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned, if they only possessed a right spirit. Now shall we be ridiculed for saying that the law of God as revealed in the Scriptures, is exactly applicable to a case like this ? That law enjoins the exercise of a right spirit, and as soon as this injunction is complied with, every difficulty vanishes, and the otherwise interminable dispute is settled at once. It is in morals much as it is in language ; a given word has but a single meaning, but it is susceptible of ten thousand different applications, and yet in applying it, no one is at a loss respecting the cases in which it may be correctly employed. In the same manner the precepts of the divine law are extremely simple ; yet there is in reality very little difficulty in applying them to the ever varying circumstances in which men are placed. We allow that questions connected with moral subjects do arise, which it is not easy to determine ; but we venture to affirm that they are much fewer in number than has been supposed, and that in general, they are not those concerning which there has been most disagreement and dispute among men.

The grand source of perplexity lies not in determining how to do right, but in determining how to act so as barely to avoid doing wrong. The most unpractised hand can drive a carriage along a very wide road, without danger of coming into collision with the buildings at the side ; but to bring the wheels of that carriage within half an inch of a certain post, and not touch it, would require a very skillful coachman. A man rents a tenement to a poor widow, he has a vast amount of trouble in fixing the sum which she shall pay for it ; but all this trouble consists in calculating just how large a sum he can demand and not be reproached by his neighbors, or perhaps by his own conscience, as an oppressor of the poor. A multitude of examples illustrating the same point might be easily adduced, all of them exhibiting the workings of that perverse disposition which ethics, if they aim at any thing, aim to subdue. Those who urge the claims of the divine law in their full extent, are often considered as extravagant and fanatical. But if there be any class of men laboring wisely and efficiently to improve the moral condition of the human race, it is this. If there be any class of men, who will be remembered with admiration and gratitude by future generations, it is this. Those who are guilty, even unwittingly, of rendering ethics or religion subservient to the purposes of oppression and vice, deserve severe censure ; they are striving to perpetuate the evils which ethics and religion are designed to remove, and if remembered at all by an impartial posterity, they will not be remembered as the benefactors of the world.

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## ARTICLE IV.

## STUDIES OF THE ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES.

*A Discourse on the Studies of the University, by Adam Sedgwick, M. A., F. R. S., &c., Woodwardian Professor of Geology, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, England. Cambridge, Pitt Press: John Smith, Printer to the University. 1834. pp. 157.*

THIS discourse is worthy of notice on several accounts. The author is a gentleman of eminent learning, and was last year president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. He is a member and a minister of the church of England, and cannot of course be supposed to be obnoxious to the charge of radicalism or enthusiasm in his political or religious opinions. In the great controversy, which has been recently waged in the house of commons, respecting the admission of dissenters to the universities, he has taken the popular and only tenable ground, now sanctioned by the vote of the commons. The discourse may also be presumed to give the views of a large part, if not of a majority, of the members of the university. It was delivered in the chapel of Trinity college, on the day of the annual solemn festival, commemorative of the founders, patrons, &c., of the university; the Bacons, Newtons, Rays, and Barrows, of former days. It was published at the request of the junior members of Trinity college, and after its delivery, went through an elaborate revision. For these and other reasons, we have thought that a brief review of the volume could not fail to be instructive to our readers.

The professor considers the studies of the university under three general heads—the studies of the laws of nature, comprehending all parts of inductive philosophy—the study of ancient literature—and the study of ourselves, considered as individuals, and as social beings.

Under the first head, the most interesting topic which is discussed, is that of geology. Many of our readers are aware that a controversy of a very exciting character, is now

waged in Great Britain in respect to the Mosaic account of the creation. It is demonstrable from facts, that the world is not eternal; but facts equally indisputable seem to prove a very long duration. This long period is accounted for by Christian geologists, either by supposing an intervening time between its creation and its preparation to be the abode of man; or by making the six days protracted periods; or by combining both these solutions. But the last two suppositions would appear to be beset with insuperable *philological* difficulties. The term *day* must be restricted to its usual sense; for it would be absurd to say, that God blessed an *indefinitely long period*, instead of the seventh day. With the first hypothesis, most geologists, we believe, now accord. Dr. Chalmers, in his *Evidences of Christianity*, inquires, "Does Moses ever say that, when God created the heavens and the earth, he did more at the time alluded to than transform them out of previously existing materials? Or does he ever say that there was not an interval of many ages betwixt the first act of creation, described in the first verse of the book of Genesis, and said to have been performed in the beginning; and, those more detailed operations, the account of which commences at the second verse, and which are described to us as having been performed in so many days? or, finally, does he ever make us understand that the genealogies of man went any further than to fix the antiquity of the species, and of consequence, that they left the antiquity of the globe a free subject for the speculation of philosophers?" Mr. Sharon Turner says, "The Mosaic chronology begins with the formation of Adam, and with the six preceding days, or periods, which commenced with the production of light. What interval occurred between the first creation of the material substance of our globe, and the mandate for light to descend upon it; whether months, years, or ages, is not, in the slightest degree, noticed." "Moses," remarks Dr. Buckland, "does not deny the existence of another system of things prior to the preparation of this globe for the reception of the human race, to which he confines the details of his history; and there is nothing in the proposition inconsistent with the Mosaical declaration of the creation." "There are two facts," observes Mr. Higgins, a late writer on geology, as quoted in the *Christian Observer*, "which we would deduce from the statement of the inspired historian; that the world was created at some indefinite period before the



commencement of the six days ; and that it was created at once, without the interference of secondary causes. That the beginning does not refer to the first day spoken of by Moses, is certain ; for it is not mentioned as a part of the creation in the enumeration of that day's work."

Professor Sedgwick has the following striking remarks.

"The Bible instructs us that man, and other living things, have been placed but a few years upon the earth ; and the physical monuments of the world bear witness to the same truth. If the astronomer tells us of myriads of worlds not spoken of in the sacred records ; the geologist in like manner proves (not by arguments from analogy, but by the incontrovertible evidence of physical phenomena) that there were former conditions of our planet, separated from each other by vast intervals of time, during which man, and the other creatures of his own date, had not been called into being. Periods such as these belong not, therefore, to the moral history of our race ; and come neither within the letter nor the spirit of revelation. Between the first creation of the earth and that day in which it pleased God to place man upon it, who shall dare to define the interval ? On this question Scripture is silent : but that silence destroys not the meaning of those physical monuments of his power that God has put before our eyes ; giving us at the same time faculties whereby we may interpret them and comprehend their meaning.

"In the present condition of our knowledge, a statement like this is surely enough to satisfy the reasonable scruples of a religious man. But let us, for a moment, suppose that there are some religious difficulties in the conclusions of geology. How then are we to solve them ? Not by making a world after a pattern of our own—not by shifting and shuffling the solid strata of the earth, and then dealing them out in such a way as to play the game of an ignorant or dishonest hypothesis—not by shutting our eyes to facts, or denying the evidence of our senses : but by patient investigation, carried on in the sincere love of truth, and by learning to reject every consequence not warranted by direct physical evidence. Pursued in this spirit, geology can neither lead to any false conclusions, nor offend against any religious truth. And this is the spirit with which many men have of late years followed this delightful science—devoting the best labors of their lives to its cultivation—turning over the successive leaves of nature's book, and interpreting her language, which they know to be a physical revelation of God's will—patiently working their way through investigations requiring much toil both of mind and body—accepting hypotheses only as a means of connecting disjointed phenomena, and rejecting them when they

become unfitted for that office, so as in the end to build only upon facts and true natural causes—All this they have done, and are still doing ; so that however unfinished may be the fabric they have attempted to rear, its foundations are laid upon a rock ; and cannot be shaken, except by the arm of that Being who created the heaven and the earth—who gave laws to the material world, and still ordains them to continue what they are.”—pp. 148—150.

After alluding to a class of writers, who “ have committed the folly and the sin of dogmatizing on matters they have not personally examined,” he thus proceeds—

“ Another indiscretion (far different however from the egregious follies I have just noticed) has been committed by some excellent Christian writers on the subject of geology. They have not denied the facts established by this science, nor have they confounded the nature of physical and moral evidence : but they have prematurely (and therefore, without an adequate knowledge of all the facts essential to the argument) endeavored to bring the natural history of the earth into a literal accordance with the book of Genesis—first, by greatly extending the periods of time implied by the six days of creation (and whether this may be rightly done is a question only of criticism and not of philosophy)—and secondly, by endeavoring to show, that, under this new interpretation of its words, the narrative of Moses may be supposed to comprehend, and to describe in order, the successive epochs of geology. It is to be feared that truth may, in this way, receive a double injury ; and I am certain that the argument, just alluded to, has been unsuccessful. The impossibility of the task was however (as I know by my own experience) a lesson hard to learn : but it is not likely again to be attempted by any good geologist. The only way to escape from all difficulties pressing on the questions of cosmogony has been already pointed out. We must consider the old strata of the earth as monuments of a date long anterior to the existence of man, and to the times contemplated in the moral records of his creation. In this view there is no collision between physical and moral truth. The Bible is left to rest on its appropriate evidences, and its interpretation is committed to the learning and good sense of the critic and the commentator : while geology is allowed to stand on its own basis, and the philosopher to follow the investigations of physical truth, wherever they may lead him, without any dread of evil consequences ; and with the sure conviction that natural science, when pursued with a right spirit, will foster the reasoning powers, and teach us knowledge fitted, at once, to impress the imagination, to bear on the business of

life, and to give us exalted views of the universal presence and unceasing power of God."—pp. 154, 155.

For one so deeply engaged in physical science as professor Sedgwick, to value and strongly recommend classical learning, is exceedingly gratifying. He says that the best literature of modern Europe is drawn more or less from the classic mould, and can neither be felt nor valued, as it ought, without ascending to the fountain head; that our classical studies help us to interpret the oracles of God, and enable us to read the book wherein man's moral destinies are written, and the means of eternal life are placed before him. At the same time, he thinks that for the last fifty years, classical studies in England have been too critical and formal; and that English scholars have sometimes been taught, while straining after an accuracy beyond their reach, to value the husk, more than the fruit, of ancient learning.

In the third branch of his subject—ethical and political studies—he examines at length the principles of Locke and Paley. Though there are in every chapter of Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*, marks of deep thought, of a strong mind clearing away the masses of intellectual rubbish by which his whole subject was encumbered, and above all, of a lofty independent spirit, holding allegiance to no authority but that of truth; yet the *Essay* is not only defective in execution, but faulty in its principles. The account that it gives of some of our simplest abstract notions is erroneous; parts of the work are doubtful and obscure; and the whole is greatly devoid of philosophic symmetry and order. He has almost wholly overlooked the distinction between innate ideas and innate capacities. Of the imaginative powers, he hardly says one word, or he speaks of them only to condemn them. Another great fault in the *Essay*, and which is involved in his very system, is its omission of the faculties of moral judgment. He takes a contracted view of the capacities of man, allowing him, indeed, the faculty of reflecting and following out trains of thought according to the rules of abstract reasoning; but depriving him both of his powers of imagination, and of his moral sense. "It is to the entire domination which his *Essay* had once established in our university, that we may, perhaps, attribute all that is faulty in the moral philosophy of Paley." Professor Sedgwick then proceeds to state, with great dis-

tinctness, the fundamental errors of Paley. While the great and undoubted merits of this writer are allowed, it is certainly cheering to see the boldness with which his untenable positions are assailed by a man of the station and influence of professor Sedgwick. "From first to last," says he, "the utilitarian scheme is in bondage to the world, measuring every act by a worldly standard, and estimating its value by worldly consequences. Virtue becomes a question of calculation; a matter of profit or loss; and if man gain heaven at all, on such a system, it must be by arithmetical details—the computation of his daily work—the balance of his moral ledger." In the course of the discussion, the professor has the following sentence.

"By what right, either in reason or revelation, do we assert the simple and unconditional benevolence of God; and, on this assumption, go on to found a moral system and a rule of life? If he be a God of mercy, is he not also a God of justice? Sin and misery are often among the means of bringing about the ends of his providence; and are so far consistent with his government, that they are permitted to last their time upon the earth. Nor is this all. The authority of any law may be abrogated by the same power that made it: and in the revealed history of the dealings of God with man; acts, which under ordinary circumstances would be crimes of the darkest die, have more than once been made tests of obedience or conditions of acceptance. Contemplations such as these make the unassisted reason shrink within itself through pure despair of comprehending the whole moral government of the world. One thing, at least, they do prove—how rash and vain a thing it is, for a feeble and narrow-sighted being like one of us, to construct a moral code, on his own interpretation of a single attribute of the God-head."—pp. 64, 65.

In the remarks on Paley's Political Philosophy, we find some sage and important observations.

"The great objects, with a wise legislator, are the security of the state and the happiness of its subjects. But national wealth, (in however extended a sense the term may have been used,) is, after all, but one of the means of securing these great ends. And among the greatest blunders the economist has committed, has been a hasty spirit of generalization (and what infant science has not suffered by that spirit?), an affectation of deductive reasoning, and a rash attempt to usurp, before his time, the chair of the lawgiver. Political economy has, however, now a perma-



ment place among the applied moral sciences, and has obtained an honorable seat in most of the academic establishments of the civilized world. Surely then we may dare to hope (without being accused of rashness in counting on the coming fortunes of mankind), that it may, in the end, assist in enabling men to see more deeply into the sources of social happiness or national greatness—that it may allay the bitterness of national animosity; teaching kingdoms, as well as individuals, how much they gain from mutual support and mutual good-will—and more than all, that it may (when combined with Christian knowledge), help to lighten the pressure of such evils as belong to our fallen nature, and are among the unavoidable conditions of our probation.

“No one denies that the moral and political characters of men are in a great measure formed by the institutions under which they live; and were it asked, whence these institutions derive their permanency and power; we might reply in general terms—only from being well fitted to the social condition of the state. But if we take a historical view of this great question, we shall see more deeply into the origin of national sentiments. We shall generally find that national character has not been formed merely by national institutions; but on the contrary, that the institutions themselves (so far as they are peculiar and permanent) have for the most part taken their original form and impress from the moral condition of the state—that they have grown with its growth—that they have (like the external covering of the bodily frame) been secreted from its life-blood—and that they are the representatives of opinions and feelings called into being from time to time, and too often during successive ages of conflict and struggle. Happy is that country which is rising in the moral scale of nations, and where the constitution contains within itself a provision for the perpetual adaptation of its institutions to the healthy movement of the state! Laws, like those of the Medes and Persians, which alter not, must soon be followed by premature decay, by secret crimes, or bloody revolutions—the sure attendants of unbending despotism.”—pp. 88, 89.

It cannot be doubted, we think, that there is in England a *feeling after* a better ethical and mental system of philosophy. There is a secret and increasing dissatisfaction with the authors in vogue. The study of words and fruitless theories will be abandoned for that of things, of permanent ideas, and of the nature and true dignity of man.

## ARTICLE V.

## GAMING.

THERE is hardly any vice more general, more seductive and injurious in its effects, than gaming. No nation, ancient or modern, savage or civilized, that it has not afflicted, and that has not found in it a constant source of moral disease. The ancient Germans were so much addicted to games of hazard, as we are informed by Tacitus, that, when stripped of every thing else, they would at last stake their liberty, and the loser would go into voluntary slavery, and, though younger and stronger than his antagonist, would suffer himself to be bound and sold. The same love of hazard prevails among the American Indians, and though they cannot erect so splendid establishments, and transact business on so large a scale as their more civilized brethren, yet they are equally inclined to risk what little property they have, to this most uncertain arbiter. The chief distinction in the development of this principle of our nature, between savage and civilized men, is, that with one, there is but little calculation in the game, and each are equally liable to receive the favors of fortune ; while with the other, a regular system of deception and fraud is established, and all the benefits of the game go into the hands of the more cunning and dishonest of the parties. With one, the evil effects of gaming are much less than with the other. In savage life, there is but little property that can be exchanged, and there is seldom any one found, who provides for the future ; so that if a savage loses the few skins which he may have on hand, he is hardly less provident than his neighbor, and has only to go to the hunt again to make up his loss. He cares for nothing more than to satisfy his immediate wants, and the woods, the lakes and the rivers are teeming with the wealth which he most prizes, and which, by his skill, he can obtain at almost all times. But in a more advanced state of society, when men provide places of permanent abode, cultivate the soil for a subsistence, and enjoy the luxuries and comforts of civilization, it becomes necessary for all to have some means of

obtaining an honest livelihood, and to do something for that society to which they are so much indebted. In such a society, idleness is a crime, and gaming a destructive vice ; for they cannot exist but at the expense of the more active and industrious, and their direct tendency is to undermine the foundations of the public prosperity and happiness. "By nourishing a constant hope of gain," as a distinguished jurist has remarked, "gaming excites in the mind an interest, which engrosses the attention, and withdraws the exertions of men from useful pursuits. By pointing out a speedy, though hazardous mode of accumulating wealth, it produces a contempt for the moderate, but certain profits of sober industry. It perverts the activity of the mind, and depraves the affections. By frequent and great reverses of fortune, it becomes not only the source of deep private misery, but suggests constant temptations to fraud, and the perpetration of atrocious crimes."

In almost all governments, gaming has either been forbidden, or laid under some restrictions. In England, the severity of the law against this vice has been constantly increasing. It was enacted, during the reign of Henry VIII., that no person but *gentlemen* should play at the games of hazard, then in use, except in time of Christmas. And a late statute, enacted during the reign of George IV., declares that all persons playing, or betting in any *open* or *public place*, with any table or instrument of gaming, at any game, or pretended game of chance, may be treated as *vagrants*, and committed, by a justice, to the house of correction for three months, and that any person keeping a common gaming-house, shall be subject to imprisonment, or hard labor in addition to, or in lieu of any other punishment.

Each of the United States have laws either forbidding or restraining gaming. The first law of this nature in Massachusetts, was enacted in 1646. Within eighteen years from the settlement of the colony, in the midst of the wilderness, and among the strict, sober, industrious and pious Puritans, it was found necessary to restrain the gambler. All persons were strictly forbidden from playing at cards and games of hazard, whether for money, or for the purpose of recreation, under a severe penalty ; and the reason for the act, as given in the preamble, is, that by gaming, "much precious time is spent unprofitably, and much waste of *wine* and *beer* occasioned." In 1742, all notes and bonds given for the payment

of money won by gaming, were declared to be void, and the loser, at any time within three months, could recover back such sum of money as he had paid with costs of suit, or in case of his default, any other person could sue the winner, and recover treble the value of the sum won. The statutes against gaming for money in Massachusetts, have undergone no very material alteration from that day to the present, except such few additions and amendments, as were necessary to accommodate them to the times and the ever varying character of the gambler. The same hostility was early evinced towards lotteries. In 1719, the general court declared them common and public nuisances, and as a reason for such a declaration, we are told that by them, "the children and servants of several gentlemen, merchants and traders, had been drawn into a vain and foolish expense of money, which caused the utter ruin and impoverishment of many families, and was a reproach to the government, and against the common good, trade, welfare, and peace of the province."

The gaming laws of other States of the Union, contain similar provisions. In most of them, the gamester is punished by a fine; in a few of them, he is liable to imprisonment, and in two or three of the States, he is permitted, on paying for the privilege a certain sum to the government, to open his gaming-house, and to carry on his business with impunity. This is the case in Louisiana and Mississippi. In Mississippi, the sum annually required for a license is five hundred dollars, and in New Orleans, where the number of gaming-houses is limited to fifteen, each pay for the privilege seven thousand and five hundred dollars per annum, and so profitable are they found to be to their owners, even with this tax upon them, that it is said there were above one hundred applicants for them the last year. This fact alone shows the extent of this vice in that city, and its consequences are too apparent in the public morals. It would be a subject of curious inquiry to ascertain how far penal laws have been effectual in restraint of gaming. When we see how prevalent it now is, how open its votaries carry on their operations, and set the laws at defiance, we can hardly believe, that as they at present exist, they are productive of much good. The public are hardly aware of the extent of gaming, and it is only when some one of its victims excites the public sympathy, that its prevalence and enormities are made known.



Even in our own vicinity, where gamesters are as scarce as in any other part of the country equally populous, they are not to be numbered by tens, but by hundreds. In their operations they adopt a perfect system. They know each other, and whom they can ensnare. In all their proceedings they observe the most profound secrecy, and there is good reason to believe, that they act in harmony and concert with others of the same class in other parts of the country. We have evidence of this in the confessions of convicts, who have stood high in that profession, and been the most renowned of the race. The effect of such a class of men on the morals of the people, needs no comment. They create no property, but prey on that which has been accumulated by the honest industry of others. Nor is this all. They pour poison into the public mind, corrupt the young, undermine the foundations of society, and destroy the peace and prosperity of the community. They have no sympathy with mankind or with each other, any further than will promote their own interest. Under the guise of friendship, and with a pretence of enjoying innocent amusement, they lead on the unwary and innocent youth, step by step, until he finds himself in one of these sinks of corruption—a gaming-house—from which there is no escape. His subsequent history is soon told. He travels the same road with other gamblers, and drinks from the same fountains of bitterness. Having lost his honor, and the respect of his friends, he becomes desperate—gives himself up to every vice, and if his career is not cut short by death, he at length becomes a tenant of a prison or an alms-house.

Such instances are not rare. Many a youth, who was the pride and hope of his parents, has been corrupted by the contagion of a gaming-house, and has become a disgrace to his family and an incumbrance to society. The distress of the parents and friends of such an one need not be described. It has been the misfortune of many to have witnessed it, and when we see the agony it produces, the prospects it darkens, and the hopes it blasts, who would not say that it would have been far better for such an one to have died in the innocence and purity of his youth, and to have left his parents to mourn for one worthy their affection? A late elegant writer has remarked, that “gaming is a magical stream, if you wade far enough into it to wet the soles of your feet, there is an influence in the waters, which draws you irresistibly in, deeper and

deeper, till you are sucked into the roaring vortex, and perish." The experience of every day proves, that very few who begin the gambler's career, are ever persuaded to leave it. It gives them a distaste for society, and for the rational and innocent amusements of life. It teaches them to regard every thing as the work of chance; to look upon all mankind as selfish and destitute of all the generous feelings of our nature. It destroys all sympathy with the world, breaks down every barrier against vice, and prepares its victim for the perpetration of every crime. Nor can it exist alone, but is intimately and almost indissolubly allied with the other vices. A person can no more be a gambler, and sustain a pure moral character in other respects, than the earth can produce vegetation without the aid of water, heat, light, and air. Gaming opens the door to every other vice, and destroys every incentive to virtue.

The best means of suppressing this vice have long been a subject of inquiry to philanthropists. Two systems have been adopted; by one of which it is wholly forbidden, and by the other, it is permitted under certain restrictions. The latter system is established on the supposition that gaming is a necessary evil, and since it cannot be wholly suppressed, it is better to legalize it under such restrictions as will make it a subject of revenue to the government. This system is adopted in some of the United States, and in several of the states on the continent of Europe. The gaming-houses in the city of Paris alone, pay to the government for their licenses, ten millions of francs per annum. This system has had and still has many able advocates, yet we believe it to be founded on a wrong principle, and unworthy of a government established for the common good. We are not willing that any government, exercising a paternal authority over the whole people, should so descend from its high prerogative as to make laws for the regulation and protection of gamblers, nor is it justifiable to make any vice legal, which at the same time, is acknowledged to be destructive to the state. Gamblers should no more be licensed to carry on their business with impunity, than any other enemies to the state. If they will not submit to the laws, if they will do nothing for the common good—let them have no benefit from the laws, nor from the institutions of society. If they will establish houses where they can ensnare the unwary, plunder the innocent, and corrupt the young, let them not do it under the sanction

of government, but at the same hazard that any other enemies of the state would build fortifications, and make other preparations within our own borders to enslave us. Besides, making a vice legal, gives it to a certain extent the appearance of respectability; and making it a source of revenue, gives it apparently the approbation of government. At any rate, there is no evidence that the licensing of gaming-houses has tended to diminish the vice, but on the other hand, where they are licensed, it is most prevalent, and receives least discountenance from the public.

Penal laws for the suppression of gaming are much more general, yet these are in a great degree ineffectual. It is impossible to frame any penal code, which shall reach the gamester in all his operations. So secret are his movements, so various are his degrees of crime, and so difficult it is to ascertain his intention and the measure of his guilt, that he very generally escapes with impunity. Besides, the law cannot take cognizance of any thing but *overt acts*. It cannot fathom the secret thoughts, nor can it measure the criminality of the means, which the gambler generally uses to effect his object. If the law is not sustained by public opinion on account of its severity, it is seldom enforced, and is often made a shield under which gamblers find a sure protection. If the penalty consist of a small fine, it is regarded as an expiation of the offence, and the aggressor feels himself justified in going on in the same course of crime. The public too, often rely upon the penalties of the law, rather than their own moral power. No one is willing to be a common informer, and therefore there is but a small chance of punishment, let one be ever so guilty. Such laws too, are often brought into disrepute by being made use of to gratify malicious or revengeful feelings.

A great defect in our present penal laws for the suppression of gaming is, that they do not insure that certainty of punishment, which is so necessary to prevent a violation of them. Conviction is so difficult, that it is seldom attempted. It is far better that the facilities for detection should be increased, than that the penalties should be raised. And for this purpose, the legislature of Massachusetts at its last session passed an act, which we think cannot fail to be useful and effectual in its operations. It authorizes justices of the peace and police courts, upon complaint made to them on oath, that a house is suspected as being used for a common gam-

ing-house, to issue a warrant, directed to any sheriff or constable, commanding him to enter that house, and arrest all persons gaming therein, and to take into custody all the instruments and materials used for that purpose. So that one of the greatest obstacles to detection and conviction, which has heretofore existed, is removed, and we may now hope that bolts and bars will no longer protect the gambler against the penalties of the law.

But a much more effectual remedy for this vice is in the reformation of public opinion. The frowns of public opinion are infinitely more effectual than a small fine, imposed, perhaps, through the exertions of a personal enemy, or from the base hope of obtaining a reward. Let this be changed, and the work is done. Let the public see and feel the dangers and enormities of gaming, and it cannot be tolerated. Parents will not suffer their children to be exposed to such temptations, and children will be early taught that the way of the gamester is the way to poverty, crime, and misery. Present indications show a change already in public opinion. Lotteries, which are but a species of gaming, are beginning to be regarded in their true light, and most of the States of the Union have either abolished, or are taking measures to abolish them. This is but one step; yet it will save millions of dollars to the country annually, and prevent thousands from wasting their hard earnings in the purchase of tickets, with the delusive hope of obtaining a prize. If public opinion be rightly directed, we may hope that lotteries will cease to be tolerated, and that gaming-houses will no longer be permitted to allure, corrupt, and destroy the young men of our country.

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## ARTICLE VI.

## POETRY OF HERBERT AND KEBLE.

*The Life and Writings of the Rev. George Herbert ; with the Synagogue, in imitation of Herbert.* Lowell, Ms. : George Woodward. 1834. pp. 452.

*The Christian Year ; Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the year.* By John Keble, Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. Philadelphia : Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 1834. pp. 415.

GEORGE HERBERT was born April 3, 1593, near the town of Montgomery. The Herberts long possessed a castle by the name of Montgomery, and "with it a plentiful estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbors." His mother was Magdalen Newport, daughter of Sir Richard Newport. She was the mother of seven sons and three daughters, and used to say she had Job's number, and Job's distribution. George, who was the fifth son, "spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him and two of his brothers, in her own family, for she was then a widow, where he continued till about the age of twelve years." He was then placed in Westminster school, where he remained till he became "perfect in the learned languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, in which he afterwards proved an excellent critic." In 1608, he joined Trinity college, Cambridge. He seems to have regarded his mother with the most affectionate attachment, and she was well worthy of such a son. In his first college year, he thus addressed her. "But I fear the heat of my late ague hath dried up those springs, by which scholars say the muses use to take up their habitations. However, I need not their help to reprove the vanity of those many love poems that are daily writ, and consecrated to Venus; nor to bewail that so few are writ, that look towards God and heaven. For my own part, my meaning, dear mother, is, in these sonnets, to declare my resolution to be, that my poor abilities in poetry shall be all

and ever consecrated to God's glory." He was made bachelor of arts in 1611, fellow of the college and master of arts in 1615, when he was twenty-one years old. He became a great proficient in the practice of music, of which he would say that "it relieved his drooping spirits, composed his distracted thoughts, and raised his weary soul so far above earth, that it gave him an earnest of the joys of heaven, before he possessed them." In 1619, he was chosen orator for the university, in which office he remained eight years. "In one of his majesty's visits to Cambridge, he was attended by the great secretary of nature and of all learning, Sir Francis Bacon, and by the ever memorable and learned Dr. Andrews, bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desired friendship with Mr. Herbert." Lord Bacon's translation of David's psalms is dedicated to Mr. Herbert. A long and hearty friendship was also commenced between Mr. Herbert and Sir Henry Wotton and Dr. Donne.

The youthful poet seems to have fallen into Bacon's besetting sin—love of popularity, and inordinate desire of court favor. He studied the Italian, French, and Spanish languages, hoping that he might attain the place of secretary of state, being high in the favor of the king, and of the most eminent of the nobility. He attended the king wherever the court was, and at length received a sinecure, worth £120 per annum. With this, his annuity, and his oratorship, he enjoyed his taste for clothes, and court-like company. He often designed to leave the university, and decline all study, which he thought impaired his health; "but his mother would by no means allow him to do either. He would not satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother, but did always submit to her wisdom." With the death of king James, the marquis of Hamilton, and the duke of Buckingham, all Mr. Herbert's hopes of preferment died. He retired to the house of a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and where he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to the pleasures of a court life, or betake himself to the study of divinity. After he had adopted the latter course, he said to a friend, who tried to dissuade him from it, as too mean an employment, and as below his birth, "It hath been formerly judged, that the domestic servants of the King of heaven should be of the noblest families on earth. And

though the iniquity of the late times has made clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of priest contemptible, yet I will labor to make it honorable, by consecrating all my learning, and all my poor abilities, to advance the glory of that God who gave them; knowing that I can never do too much for him, that hath done so much for me, as to make me a Christian." He was appointed prebend of Layton church, in the diocese of Lincoln, July 15, 1626. The parish church having fallen down, was rebuilt by his own exertions. He soon after married a daughter of Charles Danvers, Esq., of Bainton, in Wiltshire. "This Mr. Danvers," says the good Izaak Walton, "having known him long and familiarly, did so much affect him, that he often and publicly declared a desire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters, for he had so many, but rather his daughter Jane than any other, because Jane was his beloved daughter; and he had often said the same to Mr. Herbert himself; and that if he could like her for a wife, and she him for a husband, Jane should have a double blessing; and Mr. Danvers had so often said the like to Jane, and so much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became so much a Platonic, as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen." The marriage proved rich in blessings to both parties, "for the eternal Lover of mankind made them happy in each other's mutual and strong affections and compliance; indeed, so happy that there never was any contest between them, unless it were a contest which should most incline to a compliance with the other's desires."

About three months after his marriage, Mr. Herbert was made rector of Bemerton, in Wiltshire, in the diocese of Salisbury. He now devoted himself with extraordinary earnestness, zeal, and meekness, to his holy duties; copying the sweet simplicity, and the affectionate ardor of primitive ministers, "making every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter." His love to music was such that he went usually twice every week, on appointed days, to the cathedral church in Salisbury; and at his return would say, "that his time spent in prayer, and cathedral music, elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth."

On his dying bed, (his disorder was the consumption,) the same holy charity was manifest in all he said or did. "I shall dwell," he exclaimed, "in the new Jerusalem, dwell

there with men made perfect ; dwell where these eyes shall see my Master and Saviour Jesus ; and with him see my dear mother, and all my relations and friends." "The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly from his couch, called for one of his instruments, took it in his hand, and said,

My God, my God,  
My music shall find thee,  
And every string  
Shall have his attribute to sing.

And having tuned it, he played and sung—

The Sundays of man's life,  
Threaded together on time's string,  
Make bracelets to adorn the wife  
Of the eternal, glorious King.  
On Sunday, heaven's gate stands ope ;  
Blessings are plentiful and rife ;  
More plentiful than hope.

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems as the angels, and he, and Mr. Ferrar, now sing in heaven."

"Thus he lived, and thus he died, like a saint, unspotted of the world ; full of alms-deeds ; full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life ; which I cannot conclude better than with this borrowed observation ;

— All must to their cold graves ;  
But the religious actions of the just  
Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust.

Mr. George Herbert's have done so to this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding generations."

The principal works of Herbert, are "The Temple, or Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations," and "The Priest to the Temple, or Country Parson." He published besides, a translation of Cornaro on health, letters, short poems, &c. One of the best judges of the value of writing, Mr. Coleridge, says, "Having mentioned the name of Herbert, that model of a man, a gentleman, and a clergyman, let me add, that the quaintness of some of his thoughts, not of his diction, than which nothing can be more pure, has blinded modern readers to the great general merit of his poems ; which are, for the most part, exquisite in their kind."



They are in the first place, strictly religious poems. They are transcripts of the heart from which they came, pure, gentle, breathing of heaven. They betray a spirit such as Pascal, and Leighton, and Augustine would have loved; not, indeed, altogether emancipated from the forms of the Romish church, but having no communion with its temper and genius. He belonged to a small body of men—the *elect*—who, in a corrupt age, walked by faith, held converse with the just made perfect, and overcame all inward and outward foes by the blood of the Lamb. In the second place, his poems exhibit excellent sense, a close observation of human nature, and a delicate perception of character. In some of his most serious passages, there are unexpected turns of thought, which no superficial observer or thinker would have imagined. In one respect, there is a close resemblance between Herbert and Cowper—both exhibit that refined, dignified, and delicate train of thought, which is originated or fostered in the society of virtuous and highly intelligent females. It does not border, in the least measure, on effeminacy; neither is it masculine in the highest degree. It combines considerable vigor with all the elements of beauty. Herbert, in his younger days, was a man of the world, and in his pastoral life, was a close student of human nature. All this knowledge was blended with that which he derived from his mother, and other relatives well endowed with intellectual gifts. In the third place, after having made considerable abatement on the score of conceits, caprices, puns, taste of the age, and other like things, we must allow that there are veins of true poetry, the gushing out of sweet waters of song. In addition to the piety and good sense every where manifest, there is the secret gift of the native poet. With many prosaic lines and stanzas, there are oases of refreshment, gladdening the eye, and rejoicing the heart. We quote a few stanzas from the *Porch to the Temple*.

“Do all things like a man; not sneakingly.  
 Think the king sees thee still; for *his* King does.  
 Simpering is but a lay-hypocrisy;  
 Give it a corner, and the clue undoes.  
 Who fears to do ill, sets himself to task:  
 Who fears to do well, sure should wear a mask.

Slight those who say amidst their sickly healths,  
 Thou livest by rule. What doth not so but men?

Houses are built by rule; and commonwealths.  
Entice the trusty sun, if that you can,  
From his ecliptic line; beckon the sky.  
Who lives by rule, then, keeps good company.

Scorn no man's love, though of a mean degree.  
Love is a present for a mighty king.  
Much less make any one thine enemy.  
As guns destroy, so may a little sling.  
The cunning workman never doth refuse  
The meanest tool, that he may chance to use.

Restore to God his due; in tithe, and time.  
A tithe purloined cankers the whole estate.  
Sundays observe. Think, when the bells do chime,  
'Tis angel's music; therefore come not late.  
God then deals blessings: if a king did so,  
Who would not haste, nay, give, to see the show?

When once thy foot enters the church, be bare.  
God is more there than thou: for thou art there  
Only by his permission. Then beware;  
And make thyself all reverence and fear.  
Kneeling ne'er spoiled silk stocking. Quit thy state.  
All equal are within the church's gate.

Resort to sermons; but to prayers most:  
Praying's the end of preaching. Oh, be drest!  
Stay not for th' other pin. Why, thou hast lost  
A joy for it, worth worlds. Thus hell doth jest  
Away thy blessings, and extremely flout thee;  
Thy clothes being fast, but thy soul loose, about thee.

Let vain or busy thoughts have there no part.  
Bring not thy plough, thy plots, thy pleasures, thither.  
Christ purged his temple; so must thou thy heart.  
All worldly thoughts are but thieves met together  
To cozen thee. Look to thy actions well;  
For churches either are our heaven, or hell.

Judge not the preacher; for he is thy judge.  
If thou mislike him, thou conceiv'st him not.  
God calleth preaching, folly. Do not grudge  
To pick out treasures from an earthen pot.  
The worst speak something good. If *all* want sense,  
God takes a text, and preacheth patience.

Sum up, at night, what thou hast done by day;  
And, in the morning, what thou hast to do.

Dress and undress thy soul. Mark the decay,  
And growth, of it. If, with thy watch, *that* too  
Be down, then wind up both. Since we shall be  
Most surely judged, make thy accounts agree.

In brief, acquit thee bravely: play the man.  
Look not on pleasures as they come, but go.  
Defer not the least virtue. Life's poor span  
Make not an ell, by trifling in thy wo.

If thou do ill, the joy fades, not the pains:  
If well, the pain doth fade, the joy remains."—

pp. 77, 85—88.

The following hymn has been nobly paraphrased by a living poet, Bernard Barton.

#### SUNDAY.

"O day most calm, most bright!  
The fruit of this, the next world's bud;  
Th' endorsement of supreme delight,  
Writ by a friend, and with his blood;  
The couch of time; care's balm and bay:—  
The week were dark, but for thy light;  
Thy torch doth show the way.

Sundays the pillars are  
On which heaven's palace arched lies:  
The other days fill up the spare  
And hollow room with vanities.  
They are the fruitful beds and borders,  
In God's rich garden; that is bare,  
Which parts their ranks and orders.

The Sundays of man's life,  
Threaded together on time's string,  
Make bracelets to adorn the wife  
Of the eternal, glorious King.  
On Sunday, heaven's gate stands ope;  
Blessings are plentiful and rife;  
More plentiful than hope.

The brightness of *that* day  
We sullied, by our foul offence;  
Wherefore that robe we cast away,  
Having a new at his expense,  
Whose drops of blood paid the full price  
That was required, to make us gay,  
And fit for paradise.

Thou art a day of mirth:  
 And, where the week-days trail on ground,  
 Thy flight is higher, as thy birth.  
 Oh, let me take thee at the bound,  
 Leaping with thee from seven to seven;  
 Till that we both, being tossed from earth,  
     Fly hand in hand to heaven!"—

pp. 146—148.

The following, reminds one of the best stanzas of Robert Herrick. The figure in the last stanza is somewhat coarse, though expressive.

#### VIRTUE.

"Sweet day! so cool, so calm, so bright;  
 The bridal of the earth and sky:  
 The dew shall weep thy fall to-night;—  
     For thou must die.

Sweet rose! whose hue, angry and brave,  
 Bids the rash gazer wipe his eye:  
 Thy root is ever in its grave;—  
     And thou must die.

Sweet spring! full of sweet days and roses;  
 A box, where sweets compacted lie;  
 My music shows ye have your closes:—  
     And all must die.

Only a sweet and virtuous soul,  
 Like seasoned timber, never gives;  
 But, though the whole world turn to coal,  
     Then chiefly lives."—p. 160.

Our limits will allow us to quote but a single additional poem.

#### BUSINESS.

"Canst be idle, canst thou play,  
 Foolish soul, who sinned to-day?

Rivers run, and springs each one  
 Know their home, and get them gone;  
 Hast *thou* tears, or hast thou none?

If, poor soul, thou hast no tears,  
 Would thou hadst no faults or fears!  
 Who hath these, those ill forbears.



Winds still work: it is their plot,  
 Be the season cold or hot:  
 Hast *thou* sighs, or hast thou not?

If thou hast no sighs or groans,  
 Would thou hadst no flesh and bones!  
 Lesser pains 'scape greater ones.

But, if yet thou idle be,  
 Foolish soul, who died for thee?

Who did leave his Father's throne  
 To assume thy flesh and bone?  
 Had *he* life, or had he none?

If he had not lived for thee,  
 Thou hadst died most wretchedly;  
 And two deaths had been thy fee.

He so far thy good did plot,  
 That his own self he forgot.  
 Did *he* die, or did he not?

If he had not died for thee,  
 Thou hadst lived in misery;  
 Two lives worse than ten deaths be.

And hath any space of breath  
 'Twixt his sins and Saviour's death?

He that loseth gold, though dross,  
 Tells to all he meets his cross:  
 He that sins, hath *he* no loss?

He that finds a silver vein,  
 Thinks on it, and thinks again:  
 Brings thy Saviour's death no gain?

Who in heart not ever kneels,  
 Neither sin nor Saviour feels."—

pp. 187—189.

The Country Parson is a most excellent little manual for all men who are in the sacred ministry; clear, sententious, pointed, judicious, and scriptural.

"The country parson preacheth constantly. The pulpit is his joy and his throne. If he at any time intermit, it is either for want of health; or against some festival, that he may the

better celebrate it; or for the variety of the hearers, that he may be heard at his return more attentively. When he intermits, he is ever very well supplied by some able man; who treads in his steps, and will not throw down what he hath built; whom also he entreats to press some point that he himself hath often urged with no great success, that so *in the mouth of two or three witnesses the truth may be more established.*

“The character of his sermon is HOLINESS. He is not witty, or learned, or eloquent, but HOLY:—a character that Hermogenes never dreamed of, and therefore he could give no precepts thereof. But it is gained,—First, by choosing texts of devotion, not controversy; moving and ravishing texts, whereof the Scriptures are full.—Secondly, by dipping and seasoning all our words and sentences in our hearts before they come into our mouths; truly affecting, and cordially expressing all that we say: so that the auditors may plainly perceive that every word is heart-deep.—Thirdly, by turning often, and making many apostrophes to God; as, ‘O Lord! bless my people, and teach them this point!’ or, ‘O my Master, on whose errand I come, let me hold my peace, and do thou speak thyself; for thou art love; and when thou teachest, all are scholars.’ Some such irradiations scatteringly in the sermon, carry great holiness in them. The prophets are admirable in this.

“The parson’s method in handling of a text consists of two parts:—First, a plain and evident declaration of the meaning of the text;—and Secondly, some choice observations, drawn out of the whole text, as it lies entire and unbroken in the Scripture itself. This he thinks natural, and sweet, and grave. Whereas the other way, of crumbling a text into small parts, (as, the person speaking or spoken to, the subject, and object, and the like,) hath neither in it sweetness, nor gravity, nor variety; since the words apart are not Scripture, but a dictionary, and may be considered alike in all the Scripture.”—pp. 296—299.

We congratulate our readers on the republication of “holy George Herbert,” and have no doubt that he will be a welcome treasure to many hearts.

The spirit and genius of Herbert seem to have revived in Keble, to whose truly devout breathings, we are glad to introduce our readers. Mr. Keble, while he holds the office of professor of poetry in the university of Oxford, “is the exemplary and faithful pastor of a humble country congregation, and devotes himself unsparingly to the spiritual welfare of a rustic flock, in which there is scarcely a single family of rank and education.” “The object of the ‘Christian

Year,'” says the author, “will be attained, if any person find assistance from it, in bringing his own thoughts and feelings into more entire unison with those recommended and exemplified in the Prayer Book. The work does not furnish a complete series of compositions; being in many parts rather adapted with more or less propriety to the successive portions of the liturgy, than originally suggested by them. Something has been added at the end, concerning the several occasional services; which constitute, from their personal and domestic nature, the most perfect instance of that *soothing* tendency in the Prayer Book, which it is the chief purpose of these pages to exhibit.”

The volume was first published in 1827. Since then, it has passed through twenty-five editions. The American edition is brought out under the auspices of bishop Doane, of New Jersey. His enthusiastic admiration of it is thus expressed. “The book, when received, was read with unmingled delight; and no volume of uninspired poetry has ever given him such rich and continued satisfaction. It has seemed to him, as Charles, the emperor, thought of *Florence*, a book too pleasant to be read, ‘but only on holidays.’” “In contemplating an American edition, it was an obvious consideration, that, to a large portion of the admirers of religious poetry, much of the charm of Keble’s volume would be lost, by their want of familiarity with the arrangement of the ‘Christian’ or ecclesiastical ‘year,’ which forms its groundwork—the string on which his pearls are hung. The editor undertook to supply this deficiency; and in doing so, he has aimed to perform a service far beyond the additional interest which may thus be given to these ‘thoughts in verse.’”

The following poems are as favorable specimens, perhaps, as can be found in the volume, of the truth and beauty of the author’s genius.

#### HOLY BAPTISM.

“Where is it, mothers learn their love?—  
In every church a fountain springs  
O’er which th’ eternal Dove  
Hovers on softest wings.

What sparkles in that lucid flood  
Is water, by gross mortals ey’d :

But seen by Faith, 'tis blood  
Out of a dear Friend's side.

A few calm words of faith and prayer,  
A few bright drops of holy dew,  
Shall work a wonder there  
Earth's charmers never knew.

O happy arms, where cradled lies,  
And ready for the Lord's embrace,  
That precious sacrifice,  
The darling of his grace!

Blest eyes, that see the smiling gleam  
Upon the slumbering features glow,  
When the life-giving stream  
Touches the tender brow!

Or when the holy cross is sign'd,  
And the young soldier duly sworn  
With true and fearless mind  
To serve the Virgin-born.

But happiest ye, who seal'd and blest  
Back to your arms your treasure take,  
With Jesus' mark impress'd  
To nurse for Jesus' sake:

To whom—as if in hallow'd air  
Ye knelt before some awful shrine—  
His innocent gestures wear  
A meaning half divine:

By whom love's daily touch is seen  
In strengthening form and freshening hue,  
In the fix'd brow serene,  
The deep yet eager view.—

Who taught thy pure and even breath  
To come and go with such sweet grace?  
Whence thy reposing faith,  
Though in our frail embrace?

O tender gem, and full of heaven!  
Not in the twilight stars on high,  
Not in moist flowers at even  
See we our God so nigh.

Sweet one, make haste and know Him too,  
Thine own adopting Father love,



That like thine earliest dew  
Thy dying sweets may prove.

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## CATECHISM.

Oh say not, dream not, heavenly notes  
To childish ears are vain,  
That the young mind at random floats,  
And cannot reach the strain.

Dim or unheard, the words may fall,  
And yet the heaven-taught mind  
May learn the sacred air, and all  
The harmony unwind.

Was not our Lord a little child,  
Taught by degrees to pray,  
By father dear and mother mild  
Instructed day by day?

And lov'd he not of heaven to talk  
With children in his sight,  
To meet them in his daily walk,  
And to his arms invite?

What though around his throne of fire  
The everlasting chant  
Be wafted from the seraph choir  
In glory jubilant?

Yet stoops he, ever pleased to mark  
Our rude essays of love,  
Faint as the pipe of wakening lark,  
Heard by some twilight grove:

Yet is he near us, to survey  
These bright and order'd files,  
Like spring-flowers in their best array,  
All silence and all smiles.

Save that each little voice in turn  
Some glorious truth proclaims,—  
What sages would have died to learn,  
Now taught by cottage dames.

And if some tones be false or low,  
What are all prayers beneath

But cries of babes, that cannot know  
Half the deep thought they breathe?

In his own words we Christ adore,  
But angels, as we speak,  
Higher above our meaning soar  
Than we o'er children weak :

And yet his words mean more than they,  
And yet he owns their praise :

Why should we think, he turns away  
From infants' simple lays?"—pp. 369—373. .

Such poetry is indeed delightful, and many such strains are found in the volume. They do not belong to the English church. They are the echo of all Christian hearts; the effusions of regenerated nature wherever found. Many of the poems will well repay repeated perusal, and close study. The full meaning cannot be hastily found. The writer seems modestly to shrink from public gaze, behind the music of his periods and the grace of his thoughts. At the same time, there is a want of clearness in his conceptions, and of power to convey, strikingly, his meaning. On repeated examination, we are not sure that we have apprehended the true sense of the passage. Doubtless, this fault is in part owing to the prosaic nature of some of the subjects of his lines. Verses composed on occasions like that of the commemoration of the restoration of Charles II., must be common place, or far fetched. Some of the ecclesiastical sonnets of Wordsworth, and the series of biblical lyrics of Newton and Cowper, are entire failures. No poet can pour forth genuine strains on a long string of *set* subjects. Many of them in their nature are unsusceptible of metre or melody.

The additions to the volume, by the American editor, are in general well timed, and in excellent taste. We must, however, except the note on the 314th page. Such queries as that note conveys, will only awaken the spirit of controversy. In such beautiful poetry as that of Keble's, we do not wish to stop and inquire whether the sacred chain of the apostolic succession has been continued unbroken, through the darkness of the middle ages, and the corruptions of the Catholic church. It is an important question elsewhere, but not here, unless Keble's volume was intended entirely for the Episcopal communion.

In the course of the volume, the editor has introduced some admirable specimens of poetry from the pen of his friend, the Rev. William Croswell, rector of Christ church, Boston. We think that they are fully equal to those of Keble, and in point of the power of producing distinct impression, superior. Here is a gem.

## ADVENT.

“Rejoice in the Lord alway; and again, I say, rejoice. The Lord is at hand.”  
*Epistle for the last Sunday in Advent.*

- “Now gird your patient loins again,  
 Your wasting torches trim!  
 The chief of all the sons of men,  
 Who will not welcome him?  
 Rejoice, the hour is near! At length  
 The Journeyer on his way  
 Comes in the greatness of his strength,  
 To keep his holy day.
- ‘With cheerful hymns and garlands sweet  
 Along his wintry road,  
 Conduct him to his green retreat,  
 His sheltered safe abode;  
 Fill all his court with sacred songs,  
 And from the temple wall  
 Wave verdure o’er the joyful throngs  
 That crowd his festival.
- ‘And still more greenly in the mind  
 Store up the hopes sublime  
 Which then were born for all mankind,  
 So blessed was the time;  
 And underneath these hallowed eaves,  
 A Saviour will be born  
 In every heart that him receives  
 On his triumphal morn.’”—p. 38.
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## ARTICLE VII.

## NEW CHURCH HISTORY.

*A History of the Church, from the Earliest Ages to the Reformation. By the Rev. George Waddington, M. A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Ferring, in the Cathedral Church of Chichester. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1834. pp. 578.*

To the conscientious student it is an important inquiry, How can I best secure the advantages to be derived from general reading? How can my miscellaneous time be employed so as most to advance the great purpose of my life? It would be of inestimable service to an individual, as he commences his public education, to form a plan, by which all his reading would be made to bear upon some definite objects. If he wishes to acquire correct principles of taste, and an impressive style of writing, let his course of reading tend to the accomplishment of that object. Let him peruse no composition, and indulge in no mental habits, which will counteract his general purpose. If he wishes to obtain an acquaintance with history, let him be furnished at the commencement of his course, with a judicious selection of authors, and plan of study, and let him adhere to it, through all difficulties, till he meets with the reward of his labors. At least, one fourth of the time of a multitude of students is *lost*, by what is termed *miscellaneous* reading. A book, a pamphlet, or a newspaper, or whatever may casually meet the eye, is taken up, and cursorily read, without analysis and without reflection. A faint impression of some truths remains, to mingle confusedly with former associations still more ambiguous and shadowy. Valuable time is lost, the mind essentially injured, and a miserable habit formed for life. A reading-room is an excellent appendage of any institution, but in reference to some students it is any thing but a blessing.

Our object, preliminary to a notice of the book before us, is to point out some of the benefits, which a scholar may derive from history, including in that term, civil and ecclesiastical.



But in order to do this properly, we wish to explain what we mean by the *study* of history. The plan, which we recommend, would occupy a considerable period of time, though it need not consume but a limited portion of a day or a week.

The first object would be, a judicious selection of books. The number might be greater or less, according to the circumstances of the individual. The following list undoubtedly comprises the principal works, and they would give a connected view of the history of the world. Jahn's Hebrew Commonwealth, Mitford's Greece, Niebuhr's History of Rome, Murdock's Mosheim, Milner's Church History, Gibbon's Decline and Fall, Hallam's Middle Ages, Robertson's Charles V. continued by Bishop Watson, Turner's England, Hallam's Constitutional History of England, Hume till the Reign of the Stuarts with some one of the continuators, Robertson's Scotland, Robertson's America, Grahame's History of the United States, and Marshall's Life of Washington. The second object would be to divide the general history of the world into eight or ten epochs or eras. The Deluge, Calling of Abraham, Conquest of Canaan, Babylonish Captivity, Birth of Christ, Burning of Rome, Fall of Constantinople, Reformation, American Revolution, Downfall of Buonaparte, are epochs. We would then take a particular history, and make some general divisions in the same manner. Suppose it were a History of the Puritans of New England; it might be advantageously divided in the following manner. History previously to their embarkation for America; History of their Settlement; Progress and Present Condition; Account of their efforts for the Diffusion of Christianity. We would then proceed to a careful perusal of the history of the first period, following out with maps and charts the geography of the various countries, wherever it might be necessary. After this careful perusal we would settle in our own minds the general political and moral principles which were prevalent during the period—the various complexions of society, and what changes it had undergone since the preceding period. We would then procure several blank books, and in one of them write a biography of a few of the more prominent individuals; not from Plutarch, or Cornelius Nepos, or Lempriere; but from the history itself, and from reflection—form a correct view of their actions, and feelings. In another book we would record all the striking illustrations of Scripture; in a third, all the clear fulfilments

of prophecy ; in a fourth, beautiful miscellaneous illustrations and allusions ; and so on, till all the prominent topics of interest had been exhausted. Our last object would be to record the important thoughts, which had occurred in the progress of the reading, inquiries, materials for future reflections, remarks on the historian, &c.

In reply to an objection which might be urged, that such a course of reading would consume an amount of time altogether disproportionate to its importance, it might be replied that it would occupy no more time than is now wasted by many persons in partial, undigested, vague reading.

After these observations we proceed to the special object before us ; an enumeration of some of the advantages of the study of history, to the scholar.

1. A knowledge of history will give him an important influence over the young. In every town there is, or there ought to be, a social library, in which historical books are very properly the predominant class, and supported generally by young men. Now, if a scholar or a professional man, instead of confining himself to his own library, should take a deep interest in sustaining a good historical library in the village where he is situated, if he should give judicious advice in regard to the selection of works, if he should occasionally meet the young men, and deliver them a practical lecture on the authors which they were reading, and now and then give, or procure, a donation for their library, his sacrifice of time and money would be most amply remunerated.

2. History is a boundless store-house of illustration. We are to make use of the book of providence, as well as the book of revelation. The same principles of human nature, which are exhibited in the Scriptures, are strikingly exemplified on the pages of general history. Not the least remarkable among the intellectual developments of John Foster, is the freshness and impressiveness of his historical illustrations. When his fact or anecdote has secured our attention, he seizes the critical time, and fixes forever in our minds a momentous practical or abstract truth. If an illustration is not actually employed, it may suggest to an intelligent reader a principle which would not have occurred to him otherwise, or it will enable him to gain a much clearer conception of it, and to present it in a more intelligible manner to others.

3. By the study of history we can gain much valuable

knowledge of the plan of God's moral government over the world. We will present one illustration of this remark. It is often said that the world is a state of probation in regard to individuals, but of retribution in respect to nations. This observation is founded in truth. The evidence that God punishes iniquity and rewards virtue, is much clearer in reference to nations than to individuals. Every sinner *knows*, that there are in this world, the beginnings of retributive justice. Every nation of sinners has *felt* this. The Spaniard, who, with the heart of a tiger, ravaged Mexico, had some experience before his death that God is just. The Spanish nation for more than a century has *felt* this truth, like a file drawn across the tenderest fibres of the soul. The white man who sells whiskey to an Indian, may experience the curse of God in his own habitation. Our nation, if persevering in the course of flagrant oppression which they commenced a few years since towards the Indians, will most assuredly, like miserable and prostrate Spain, *antedate* their doom, and find in this world that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of an avenging God. What treasures of wrath our country has already accumulated is known only to him, who has seen us for two hundred years, and is now seeing us, in reference to two millions of men, made in his image, whom we are trampling into the dust with the "iron heel of oppression."

There is far more uniformity in God's dealings towards a nation than towards an individual. A righteous man is sometimes visited with heavy afflictions, during his whole life. A righteous nation never was visited with long continued troubles. An individual suffers frequently by a connection with another, and not through any special fault of his own. It is far less so with nations; a large minority in a community is sometimes compelled to undergo the severest hardships from the act of a majority. But nations are independent in a much higher degree. What they suffer is more directly a consequence of their own wickedness. Righteousness exalteth a man, much more a nation.

The nearer we approach God's universal government, the more distinctly we shall see the principles by which it is regulated. Could we understand the moral laws of a system of worlds, as we may the natural laws, we should unquestionably gain a much clearer idea of those principles of the divine administration which we just discern here. In

the life of an individual those principles are as a stream of water half hidden from view by the grass and willows on its banks; in the history of a nation they are like a body of water always running open to the light of heaven. He then who would enlarge his knowledge of the laws and principles of his Maker's government, will do well to study them as developed in the past history of the world. A good history, is an index forever pointing to the throne of God.

4. Another use of the study of history is its influence on a part of the faculties of the mind. All the qualities of the mind in the external development, may perhaps be included under the terms acute and comprehensive. One man has the power to define a single separate topic with logical precision, and pour upon it the light of the most powerful and unexpected illustration. He has unity, point, precision, perfect discrimination. He has given to his mind this trait by diligent training, by severe and confined habits of thinking. A distinguished clergyman of our acquaintance, in his public prayers, is in the habit of selecting a single topic, at first view of minor importance, but upon it he will exhaust the powers of his mind, and the sensibilities of his heart in adoration, in entreaty, in confession, till an effect is produced on the worshippers, often in the highest degree salutary and impressive.

There is another class of minds which appear to advantage in the exposition of a large subject, in the survey of an immense field, in the disposition of a host, where numbers and tolerable order will outweigh the advantages of minute discipline and perfect arrangement. Of both these qualities united in a transcendent degree, Edmund Burke is an illustrious example.

That the study of history will promote precision of mind, no one, perhaps, would attempt to show. There are other studies by which acuteness of intellect can be much better cultivated. Still, that the *study* of history will be unfavorable to the growth of any power of the mind, cannot be shown. Waiving this point, however, it is susceptible of the fullest proof, that the study in question is pre-eminently serviceable in giving to the mind width of range, reach of conception, amplitude of vision. The student of history is often compelled to suspend, for a long period, his judgment of men and things. Rash and inconsiderate opinions are altogether at variance with real progress in this study. The



longer the mind can suspend its decisions, while it is properly weighing evidence, the greater the tension, if we may so express it, of that mind. The real views of the sovereigns concerned in forming the holy alliance in Europe, in 1814, are probably not yet fully known. The measure was at first highly applauded, then censured almost to execration; since, the current has turned somewhat in its favor again. Furthermore, in the history of the world, a single principle is frequently seen ruling with despotic authority a whole continent. The preservation of the balance of power, exhibited by the successors of Alexander, and still more conspicuously in the history of modern Europe, is an instance. By this single, invisible, intangible public feeling, the mightiest empire is stayed in its designs of conquest; while an insignificant republic like San Marino, is preserved safe as a lamb between the mouths of two contending wolves. Again it is not unfrequently the case that a parallel may be run between the designs of an ambitious government, and the ultimate arrangements of divine Providence, an exercise which it is needless to say is of the highest value to the mind. Henry VIII. of England, and Charles V. of Germany, adopted a course of conduct tending to subserve their own political aggrandizement; while their measures, in the merciful arrangements of Providence, were strikingly instrumental in hastening the glorious reformation from popery. It might further be shown, that this power of mind, is greatly strengthened by the nature of the study itself. History is the record of six thousand years; it is a review of the whole human race; it is the genealogy of one hundred and sixty generations; it is the moral arithmetic of one hundred and thirty thousand millions of human beings. Studying history is like standing on mount Ararat, on the fortieth day after the deluge—the wrecks of a hundred mighty empires appearing on the face of a renovated world.

This is an age when the student should more than ever cultivate the widest expansiveness in his views. Amid all the rivalries and unnatural jealousies of the different political parties and religious denominations, a true scholar will wish to stand on higher ground. He will wish to look over and beyond the limits of a state, and the technicalities of a sect. In the capacity of his mind, and in the sensibilities of his heart, he will wish to be a minister of mercy to the human race.

5. The last use of the study of general history which we shall mention, is the light which it throws on some subjects which are now agitating the religious community. An instructive lesson from the annals of the church is in reference to the best mode of prosecuting plans for the moral and intellectual renovation of the world. It is already a seriously agitated question, Whether the church, as an ecclesiastical judicature, is to have the control and superintendence of the benevolent efforts of the day, or whether those efforts are to be guided by free and voluntary associations; or in other words, Is the church to act in her distinctive, organized character, in diffusing Christianity; or are individuals to combine their efforts, as to them may seem good, without being amenable to any ecclesiastical organization? Now, one of the most effectual ways to determine this question, is to appeal to church history, including the New Testament, and the records of modern missions. Jesus Christ, in giving his final command to his disciples, directed them to preach the gospel to every creature. The mode of doing it he did not point out. There is no allusion to the church in her distinctive character, as there is when discipline is to be administered. The apostles were indeed the representatives of the church; but as individuals, not as an organized body. In all the labors of the apostles and evangelists, we find no mention of any church organization for conducting missions. When Paul and Barnabas separated from each other, they selected each an associate, without even the advice of the church. In their various missionary tours, they followed the dictates of their own minds, and the suggestions of the Holy Spirit. The primitive churches made collections, spontaneously, voluntarily, not by assignment, nor order. The grand motive which Paul, with his apostolical authority, used was, "ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ." In the succeeding ages, Christianity was diffused, or attempted to be diffused, in the following ways; by edict from the civil power; the order of a bishop; private suggestion; some providential circumstances; direction of the Holy Spirit; and last and least by the church in her distinctive character. Nearly all which has been accomplished in modern times, in the diffusion of Christianity, has been through the means of voluntary associations. The church, as a body, has never felt her responsibility. It is individuals who have kept her from a total amalgamation with the world. Half of that which has

been done by ecclesiastically organized societies, is owing to the sympathy and emulation awakened by voluntary societies. The British and Foreign Bible Society was life from the dead to the Christian Knowledge Society ; and the London Missionary Society, to the Society for Propagating the Gospel. This last had a perfect organization, and was supported by a most illustrious roll of titled and venerable names, but its labors were by no means efficient.

Another important use of ecclesiastical history, applicable to the present times, is the light which it throws on the papal question. Some individuals in this country, looking on the inconsiderable number of the Romish population, on the entire ignorance and degradation of much the greater part of it, on the opposition which our free institutions and the general diffusion of knowledge and religion present to the claims of the papists, and on the supposed softened and meliorated spirit of modern Romanism, have been altogether skeptical in reference to danger from this quarter.

But we believe that the millions of papists, as a body, are to be brought into the real church of Christ as truly as the millions of China and of Japan. Southern America and southern Europe are covered with as deep a gloom as southern Africa or Asia. Who would not sooner go on a mission into the wilds of Caffraria, than into a province of Spain? Who would not sooner try to build a house in the untouched and eternal forests of the west, than amid the smouldering ruins and rubbish of an ancient city? In Spain the darkness is too deep to admit of a civil revolution. In South America all the use of one revolution seems to be to furnish fire and light for another.

It becomes then a most momentous question, In what manner the great work of a truly Catholic emancipation is to be done? *How* are the papists to be changed into the spiritual worshippers of that Saviour, whose mediation and finished righteousness they have so long dishonored? The providence of God answers—the printer, the schoolmaster, the Bible distributor. Now where are the materials to be found, and where are the men to be trained for this work? We answer, among the Luthers and Melancthons of other days ; among the grave-yards of Geneva, and Wittenberg, and Saxony. Robertson's Charles V., Mosheim, Milner, Claude, and the New Testament, are to be read and studied in reference to this thing. The sixteenth century is to furnish

armor for the nineteenth. There are innumerable facts and principles in the records of the past, which may be brought to bear, with amazing force, on the papacy of the present times. He who would give an intelligent and comprehensive digest of them, would be a benefactor to his race. Those who stand in our public institutions, to unseal the fountains of church history at the present time, stand at a post of very great responsibility and interest. The huge fabric of Romanism will be either torn up at once and totally, by some mighty convulsion in the providence of God, or what is more probable, it will be undermined by argument. Its deformities will be let out into the intolerable and blazing light of Christian truth. There will be no sophistry so entangled, but that the Pascals of this and the coming age will unravel it, and trample it under feet.

The Church History of Waddington, whose title is at the head of this article, and which has just appeared from the prolific press of the Harpers, is indicative, we think, of a more earnest attention to this subject. It is truly disgraceful to the literary reputation of Englishmen, that there is hardly a respectable native work on church history, in the language, if we except Milner's, excellent in its kind, but not comprehensive nor profound. The work of Dr. Mosheim, in the close and faithful translation of Dr. Murdock, is worthy of high commendation in the sphere which it occupies. Candid, logical in its divisions, extensive in research, accurate in its statements, and in the American edition enriched with a profusion of learned reference and apposite illustration, it will long and deservedly retain a high place in the esteem of those competent to decide on these matters. It has not, however, that fine spirit of Christian philosophy which has been applied, in a few instances, to detached portions of the subject; while it has the great and mournful deficiency of being confined almost exclusively to the *external*, and as we would almost say beggarly, elements of the history. The writer appears scarcely ever to have caught any of the ardor of his subject. His soul seems incapable of holding converse with the noble army of martyrs and confessors.

We think it is a fault in the work of Waddington, that in its impartiality and candor, it does not glow, as surely on some occasions it might, in strict historical dignity, with the inspiring genius of the theme. While we are friends to the



sober gait of the historic muse, to discriminating and even-handed justice, still we can hardly imagine how a man who professes to be called a protestant, can write as Dr. Robertson has of the Reformation, in complete stoical calmness. Mr. Waddington's book is taken up too much with a history of the Romish church. It is interesting as an account of the corruptions of Christianity and of the lives of the popes, but it does not dwell with sufficient minuteness on the dissenters and protestants, who from time to time shed a feeble and interrupted light amidst the deep surrounding gloom.

The author has very properly abandoned the old method of division by centuries. He has thus been enabled to collect under one head, and present in an uninterrupted view, materials bearing in reality upon the same point, but which by the more usual method, are separated and distracted. The history extends to the beginning of the Reformation, and is divided into five periods. The *first* terminates with the accession of Constantine. It traces the propagation of Christianity, the persecutions, heresies, and abuses, which varied the fortunes of the first centuries, and describes its final triumph over external hostility. The *second* carries us through the age of Charlemagne, and adverts to the fall of paganism, the rise of Mohammedanism, the influx of the northern barbarians on Western Europe, and the increasing corruptions of the church. The *third* period conducts us to the death of Gregory VII. About 270 years compose the annals of this dark age, when the Romish domination attained its consistency and vigor. The *fourth* period, of 220 years' duration, delineates the progress of Romanism from the death of Gregory to that of Boniface VIII. and the removal of the seat of government from Rome to Avignon. The *last* follows the decline of papal power, and the various attempts which were made in the Romish church to regenerate itself, until the sun of the Reformation broke on the world.

In the brief extracts which we propose to make, we shall confine ourselves to a few topics, which have excited much discussion. On church government, we find the following remarks.

"We must now proceed to examine the discipline and government of the primitive church, and, in this inquiry, we shall discover no marks of a loose and passing superstition, but, on the contrary, the surest prognostics of vigor and immortality. There

are many reasons which make it necessary, in the treatment of this subject, to distinguish clearly between what is historically known, and what is plausibly conjectured; for it is from the confusion of facts with probabilities that most of the difficulties of this question have arisen. In the first place it is certain, that, from the moment in which the early churches attained a definite shape and consistency, and assumed a permanent form of discipline; as soon as the death of the last of the apostles had deprived them of the more immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit, and left them, under God's especial care and providence, to the uninspired direction of mere men; so soon had every church, respecting which we possess any distinct information, adopted the Episcopal form of government. The probable nature of that government we shall describe presently; but here it is sufficient to mention the undisputed fact, that the religious communities of the Christian world universally admitted the superintendence of ministers, called bishops, before the conclusion of the first century. In the next place it is equally true, that neither our Saviour nor his apostles have left any express and positive ordinances for the administration of the church;\* desiring, perhaps, that *that* which was intended for every age and condition of man, to be the associate and guardian of every form of civil government, should have the means of accommodating its external and earthly shape to the various modifications of human polity. It is also true that in the earliest government of the first Christian society, that of Jerusalem, not the elders only, but the 'whole church' were associated with the apostles: and it is even certain that the terms bishop and elder or presbyter were, in the first instance, and for a short period, sometimes used synonymously, and indiscriminately applied to the same order in the ministry. From the comparison of these facts it seems natural to draw the following conclusions,—that during the lifetime of the apostles they were themselves the directors, or at least the presidents of the church; that, as long as they remained on earth, it was not necessary, in all cases, to subject the infant societies to the delegated authority of a single superintendent, though the instances of Titus and Timothy clearly prove that it was sometimes done; and that, as they were severally removed from the world, some distinguished brother was in each instance appointed to succeed, not indeed to the name and inspiration, but to the ecclesiastical duties of the blessed Teacher who had founded the church. The concurrence

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\* See Mosh. Gen. Hist., c. i. p. ii. ch. 2. and the translator's impartial note. Also Disnager, ton. i. liv. i. c. 8. Principles are given, but no specific rules (Hinds' Early Church, vol. ii. p. 100). After all, no form of church government now exists, or could exist, accurately framed on the model of the earliest, since *that* was regulated by an inspired ministry, and enlightened by extraordinary gifts. The government which immediately followed that earliest was Episcopal.

of ancient records confirms this last conclusion; the earliest church historians enumerate the first bishops of the churches at Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Smyrna, Alexandria and Rome, and trace them in each case from the apostles. And thus it came to pass that, for more than twenty years before the death of St. John, most of the considerable churches had gradually fallen under the presidency of a single person entitled bishop; and that, after that event, there were certainly none which did not speedily follow the same name and system of administration."—pp. 41, 42.

The conclusions respecting the ordinance of baptism are as follows.

"The sacraments of the primitive church were two—those of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The ceremony of immersion, (the oldest form of baptism,) was performed in the name of the three Persons of the Trinity; it was believed to be attended by the remission of original sin, and the entire regeneration of the infant or convert, by the passage from the land of bondage into the kingdom of salvation. A great proportion of those baptized in the first ages were, of course, adults, and since the church was then scrupulous to admit none among its members, excepting those whose sincere repentance gave promise of a holy life, the administration of that sacrament was in some sense accompanied by the remission, not only of the sin from Adam, but of all sin that had been previously committed by the proselyte—that is to say, such absolution was given to the repentance necessary for admission into Christ's church. In after ages, by an error common in the growth of superstition, the efficacy inherent in the repentance was attributed to the ceremony, and the act which washed away the inherited corruption of nature was supposed to secure a general impunity, even for unrepented offences. But this double delusion gained very little ground during the first two centuries."—p. 46.

Mr. Waddington accords with Milner and other English writers in respect to the influence of the union of church and state policy under Constantine.

"The *establishment* of the church was in itself highly beneficial both to the progress of religion, and to the happiness of society—the mere pacific alliance of that body with the state was fraught with advantage to the whole empire, with danger to no member of it. Many evils indeed did follow it, and many vexations were inflicted by Christians upon each other in the perverse zeal of religious controversy. But such controversies, as we have sufficiently shown, had existed in very great abundance, very long

before Christianity was recognized by law ; and the vexations were not at all the necessary consequence of that recognition. They originated, not in the system itself, but in the blindness of those who administered it ; they proceeded from the fallacious supposition—that which afterwards animated the Romish church, and which has misled despots and bigots in every age—that unanimity in religious belief and practice was a thing attainable ; and they were conducted on a notion equally remote from reason, that such unanimity, or even the appearance of it, could be attained by force. Many ages of bitter experience have been necessary to prove the absurdity of these notions, and the fruitless wickedness of the measures proceeding from them. But a candid inquirer will admit that they were not at all inseparably connected with the establishment of the church ; and that that body would not only have continued to exist and to flourish, without any interference of civil authority to crush its adversaries, but that it would have subsisted in that condition with more dignity, and more honor, and much more security.

“ The prosperity of the church was unquestionably followed by an increase in the number and rankness of its corruptions. But unhappily we have already had occasion to observe, that several abuses had taken root in all its departments, during at least that century which immediately preceded the reign of Constantine—to the fourth we may undoubtedly assign the extravagant honors paid to martyrs, and the shameful superstitions which arose from them. But we should also recollect, that many among the Romish corruptions are of a much later date, and that several may be directly referred to the influence of expiring paganism, not to the gratuitous invention of a wealthy and degenerate priesthood. Indeed, we should add, that in respect to the moral character of the clergy of the fourth century, they seem rather chargeable with the narrow, contentious, sectarian spirit, which was encouraged and inflamed by the capricious interference of the civil power, than with any flagrant deficiency in piety and sanctity of life.”—pp. 89, 90.

The extraordinary phenomena which occurred at Jerusalem, when Julian made the attempt to rebuild the temple, the author supposes to be best accounted for as the effect of divine interposition. The principal facts are undoubted, as they are the result of the combined evidence of four contemporary authors, one of whom, Ammianus Marcellinus was a zealous pagan. The mountain on which the temple stood is not so constituted as to be the scene of an eruption. History speaks only of one other commotion, which has taken place there—that which occurred at the crucifixion. The hypothesis of Michaelis, quoted by Guizot, and adopted by



Milman, that these phenomena were occasioned by explosions of inflammable air in the subterranean vaults, cisterns, sepulchres, &c., in which Jerusalem abounded, does not seem to solve the difficulty. Such an explanation is not adapted to some of the circumstances mentioned by the witnesses. Would a matter of immense importance, as Julian regarded it, be abandoned on account of a fortuitous impediment? Would not the gases be more likely to extinguish than to produce combustion? Is it not probable that God would interpose at a critical period when the truth of his religion was put to a severe and most insulting proof?

The author makes the following remark upon the effect of Christianity on literature.

“The effect which Christianity may have produced on the literature of the Roman empire in the third century, bears some resemblance in character (though it was far inferior in degree) to that exerted by Puritanism on the literature of our own country. And if it be true, that the immediate influence of both was, to a certain extent, hostile, their ultimate operation was certainly to invigorate and renovate. Some of the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries write better than any profane author after Tacitus.”—p. 123.

Mr. Waddington, like many others before him, is too much inclined to ascribe the introduction of the Romish corruptions to *outward* causes, to the acts of individuals, or to a particular line of policy on the part of popes, bishops, or emperors. They are to be traced rather to the corrupt soil of man's heart. The desire of prying into mysteries relative to the invisible world, is a characteristic of human nature, and one to which may be traced the idle legends of various kinds, respecting wonder-working saints. Man has a natural passion for speculative knowledge rather than practical truth. Equally natural is the desire and hope of transferring from one to another the merit of good works and the benefit of devotional exercises. The sanction given to all the monstrous train of pious frauds, legendary tales, and lying miracles, for which the Romish church is renowned, arises from a natural vicious preference of supposed expediency to truth. The ready acquiescence in the extravagant claim for infallibility, which has been productive in the Romish church of very mischievous consequences, may be traced to that indolence in investigation, indifference about

truth, and ready acquiescence in what is placed before us, which are entirely natural to us. So congenial, moreover, to man, is the resort to force for the establishment of one system of doctrines and the suppression of another, or in other words, to persecution, that many of the reformers, after they had clearly perceived nearly all the *other* errors in which they had been brought up, yet entertained no doubt as to the duty of maintaining religious truth by coercive means. So the confident security with which the *Catholics* trust in that name, as denoting their being members of the only true church, whose title to divine favor they seem to regard as a kind of common property to all her members, is manifestly common to the Romanists with those who put the same kind of trust in the *name* of Protestant or Christian, making that name a substitute for personal holiness.\*

The early schools of Europe are thus noticed.

“The earliest schools established in the provinces of the Western empire were of civil foundation, and intended entirely for the purposes of civil education; and so they continued until the social system was subverted by the barbarian conquest. This revolution affected the literary in common with all other institutions: in the course of the sixth century profane learning entirely disappeared, together with the means of acquiring it; and before its conclusion, the office of instruction had passed entirely into the hands of the clergy. The municipal schools of the empire gave place to cathedral or episcopal establishments, which were attached, in every diocese, to the residence of the bishop; and throughout the country elementary schools were formed in many of the monasteries, and even in the manse of the parochial priesthood.

“The system of education which prevailed in those of Italy, and which was probably very general, is described by the canon which enjoins it:—‘Let all presbyters who are appointed to parishes, according to the custom so wholesomely established throughout all Italy, receive the younger readers into their houses with them, and feeding them, like good fathers, with spiritual nourishment, labor to instruct them in preparing the Psalms, in industry of holy reading, and in the law of the Lord.’ Such regulations prove, no doubt, (if they were really enforced,) that the education of the clergy was not entirely neglected: but they prove also, that such education, even in that early age, was con-

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\* See a masterly development of these views in archbishop Whateley’s “Errors of Romanism traced to their Origin in Human Nature.” London, 1830.

fined to the clergy, and that it embraced no subjects of secular erudition. It is true, indeed, that the *names* of rhetoric, dialectics, and the former subjects of civil instruction, were perpetuated in the ecclesiastical seminaries; but those sciences were only taught, as they were connected, or might be brought into connection, with theology, and made instrumental in the service of the church."—pp. 262, 263.

The famous bull, called *Unam Sanctam*, issued by pope Boniface VIII., asserting the extreme pretension of the Romish see, both to spiritual and temporal supremacy, may perhaps be viewed as the great turning point in papal history.

"Boniface availed himself of the name of this council to publish the Decretal, commonly known as the Bull *Unam Sanctam*. The propositions asserted in this celebrated constitution are, first, the Unity of the Holy Catholic Church, without which there is no salvation; wherein is one Lord, one faith, one baptism. Hence it follows, that of this one and only church there is one body and one head, (not two heads, which would be monstrous,) namely, Christ, and Christ's vicar, St. Peter, and the successor of St. Peter. The second position is, that in the power of this chief are two swords, the one spiritual, and the other material; but that the former of these is to be used by the church, the latter for the church; the former is in the hand of the priest, the latter in the hand of kings and soldiers, but at the nod and sufferance of the priest. It is next asserted, that one of these swords must be subject to the other sword, otherwise we must suppose two opposite principles, which would be Manichæan and heretical. Thence it is an easy inference, that the spiritual is that which has rule over the other, while itself is liable to no other judgment or authority than that of God. The general conclusion is contained in one short sentence,—'Wherefore we declare, define, and pronounce, that it is absolutely essential to the salvation of every human being, that he be subject unto the Roman pontiff.'

"But Boniface did not content himself with mere assertions. On the very same day he also published a Bull of excommunication against all persons, of whatsoever rank, even kings or emperors, who should interfere in any way to prevent or impede those, who might desire to present themselves before the Roman See. This edict was, of course, understood to be directly levelled against Philip. Soon afterwards he sent a legate into France, the bearer of twelve articles, which boldly expressed such papal pretensions, as were in opposition to those of the king; and concluded with a menace of temporal as well as spiritual proceed-

ings. The claims contained in these articles have been already mentioned, and do not require enumeration. But what may raise our surprise is, that the answer of Philip was extremely moderate; that he condescended to explain away much that seemed objectionable in his conduct; that he promised to remedy any abuses which his officers might have committed, and expressed his strong desire for concord with the Romish Church."—p. 352.

The following description of the origin of the Ursuline nuns, may be interesting from recent occurrences in Charlestown, Mass., and which we therefore quote.

*"The Ursulines.* Of the more modern orders, there is also one which may seem to require our notice—that of the Ursulines. Its origin is ascribed to Angela di Brescia, about the year 1537, though the saint from whom it received its name, Ursula Benincasa, a native of Naples, was born ten years afterwards. Its character was peculiar, and recalls our attention to the primitive form of ascetic devotion. The duties of those holy sisters were the purest within the circle of human benevolence—to minister to the sick, to relieve the poor, to console the miserable, to pray with the penitent. These charitable offices they undertook to execute without the bond of any community, without the obligation of any monastic vow, without any separation from society, any renouncement of their domestic duties and virtues. And so admirably were those offices, in millions of instances, performed, that, had all other female orders been really as useless and as vicious, as they are sometimes falsely described to be, the virtues of the Ursulines had alone been sufficient to redeem the monastic name.

"But it is very far from true, that these other orders were either commonly dissolute, or generally useless. Occasional scandals have engendered universal calumnies. To recite the mere names of those most lately founded is sufficient to show that their professed objects were almost always excellent; and it would be as injurious to human nature, as it is contrary to historical evidence, to suppose that those objects were instantly abandoned, and made merely a cover for the opposite vices. In the more secular institutions of the other sex there was greater space for the operation of evil passions. In those polluted cloisters, the seeds of avarice were commonly nourished by the practice of profitable deceptions, and the prospect of opulent benefices. The holiest contemplations were interrupted by the voice of ambition inviting the most austere recluse to dignity and power—to abbacies, to prelacies; to the councils of kings, to that predominant apostolical eminence, whence kings and their councils were insulted



and overthrown. . . . But into the cell of the female devotee, those passions at least can seldom have intruded, because they had no object there.”\*—p. 325.

The virtues and piety of the inferior clergy are thus alluded to.

“The real heroes of ecclesiastical history are those, whose belief and life are regulated by the laws of Christ; and the very circumstance, which constitutes their excellence, ensures their obscurity. They are not without their reward even in this world—but it is not in the enjoyment of renown, or in the hope of worldly immortality. It is in silence, that they perform their offices of charity; it is in secrecy, that they fulfil the commands of their Master; it is in humility, that they exalt their fellow creatures; and as soon as their peaceful course of usefulness is over, they disappear, and leave no sort of trace or record of their virtues. It is to the proud, the turbulent, the ambitious, to the fanatic or the hypocrite, that the pages of the annalist are principally consecrated; and those whose life has been an insult to their religion, stand far more prominent in the ecclesiastical picture, than those who have loved and obeyed it.”—p. 549.

We have thus endeavored to give our readers a faithful, though brief view of the volume before us. We do not think that it will at all supersede Milner or Mosheim, or stand in the way of a church history, which shall be better than either of them. It is clear, candid, well condensed, and dignified, but not profound. The author has made use of Mosheim, and the English and French treatises, but has scarcely alluded to the investigations of Neander and other late German writers.

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\* “Some remarks have been suggested to us on this passage, which we recommend to the reader’s consideration—premising, however, that the position in the text, only affirms the moral superiority of nuns to monks, on the ground that *some* of the passions on which the habits of the latter were formed, had no object to rouse them in the former.

“I cannot help thinking (says an ingenious friend) that the argument implied in the words ‘passions which had no object there,’ is fallacious. Many passions, if not all, will find objects, natural or unnatural. The danger of wandering, in the absence of express revelation, from that knowledge of the will of God, which may be collected from induction, is as pernicious to morals, as the *a priori* reasoning is to science. An institution preventing women from becoming wives and mothers, was immoral (considering the natural evidence of their propensities) in the same sense in which the opposition to the philosophy of Galileo was unreasonable.”

## ARTICLE VIII.

## CONNECTION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

*On the Connection of the Physical Sciences. By Mrs. Mary Somerville.* London: John Murray. 1834. pp. 458.

OF the history of Mrs. Somerville's mind and acquirements, we are ignorant, except so far as they are developed in this volume, and in another published not long since on the "*Mechanism of the Heavens*." The dedication of the present volume to the queen, which is very modest, is dated at the Royal Hospital, at Chelsea, near London. In her preface, she remarks, "that the progress of modern science, especially within the last five years, has been remarkable for a tendency to simplify the laws of nature, and to unite detached branches by general principles. In some cases identity has been proved where there appeared to be nothing in common, as in the electric and magnetic influences; in others, as in that of light and heat, such analogies have been pointed out as to justify the expectation, that they will ultimately be referred to the same agent; and in all, there exists such a bond of union, that proficiency cannot be attained in any one without a knowledge of others." In the same unpretending manner, the whole treatise is written. Nothing like effeminacy, mannerism, or literary ambition, appears. The lady moves on, enumerating her propositions, and propounding her solutions and facts, apparently unconscious of the extraordinary powers with which the Creator has endowed her. The "*Mechanism of the Heavens*," the introduction to which has been expanded into the volume before us, was written at the suggestion of the lord chancellor for the series of volumes published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Having been found too learned and elaborate for that purpose, it was published separately. It is strictly an original work, displaying a familiar acquaintance with the higher branches of mathematics, and with the laws of that refined and subtle analysis which have been deduced with so much success by

Laplace and Ivory from the phenomena of physical astronomy. The best judges in her native land have unanimously given her praise of the most gratifying kind, as having worked out her formulæ, and made her calculations for herself, frequently by new and ingenious methods. She bids fair to revive the old days of the university of Bologna, when Bassi Laura, a doctor of philosophy, and Agnesi, a professor in the university, produced one, a treatise in mental philosophy, and the other, a profound essay on mathematical analysis. Female talent in Great Britain, with the exceptions of Mrs. Somerville and Miss Caroline Herschell, has been directed, for many years past, into the departments of education and polite literature; while on the continent, the subjects of political economy and morals have engaged the attention of some highly endowed female intellects. In former days, classical learning was cultivated to an extraordinary degree by queen Elizabeth, lady Jane Grey, lady Anne Bacon the mother of lord Bacon, lady Mildred Burleigh his sister, Margaret Beaufort, and others, who in the language of Dr. Wotton, "seemed to think that Plato and Aristotle *untranslated*, were fit companions to their closets."

From the volume of Mrs. Somerville, we propose to make such abstracts and quotations, as will give our readers correct specimens of her style of thinking and writing, and the present condition of some of the sciences, which pass under review.

The stability of our system was established by La Grange; "a discovery," says Playfair, "that must render the name forever memorable in science, and revered by those who delight in the contemplation of whatever is excellent and sublime." After Newton's discovery of the mechanical laws of the elliptical orbits of the planets, La Grange's discovery of their periodical inequalities is, without doubt, the noblest truth in physical astronomy; and, in respect of the doctrine of final causes, it may be regarded as the greatest of all.

It appears from the investigations of Laplace and Poinsot, that there exists an invariable plane passing through the centre of gravity of the system, about which the whole oscillates within very narrow limits, and that this plane will always remain parallel to itself, whatever changes time may induce in the orbits of the planets, in the plane of the ecliptic,

or even in the law of gravitation, provided only that our system remains unconnected with any other. Passing through the sun, and about midway between the orbits of Jupiter and Saturn, it may be regarded as the equator of the solar system, dividing it into two parts, which balance one another in all their motions. This plane, by no means peculiar to the solar system, but existing in every system of bodies submitted to their mutual attractions only, always maintains a fixed position, whence the oscillation may be estimated through unlimited time. Future astronomers will know, from its immutability or variation, whether the sun and his attendants are connected or not with the other systems of the universe. If the fixed stars, comets, or any unknown bodies, affect our sun and planets, the nodes of this plane will slowly recede on the plane of that immense orbit which the sun may describe about some most distant centre, in a period which it transcends the powers of man to determine. It is more than probable that, remote as the fixed stars are, they in some degree influence our system, and that even the invariability of this plane is relative, only appearing fixed to creatures incapable of estimating its minute and slow changes during the small extent of time and space granted to the human race. "The development of such changes," says M. Poinsot, "is similar to an enormous curve, of which we see so small an arc that we imagine it to be a straight line." If we raise our views to the whole extent of the universe, and consider the stars, together with the sun, to be wandering bodies, revolving about the common centre of creation, we may then recognize in the equatorial plane, passing through the centre of gravity of the universe, the only instance of absolute and eternal repose.

The appearance of Saturn is unparalleled in the history of the world. He is a spheroid about 900 times larger than the earth, surrounded by a ring even brighter than himself, which always remains suspended in the plane of his equator, and viewed with a very good telescope, it is found to consist of two concentric rings, divided by a dark band. The mean distance of the interior part of this double ring, from the surface of the planet, is about 22,240 miles, it is no less than 33,360 miles broad, but by estimation, its thickness does not much exceed 274 miles, so that it appears like a plane. By the laws of mechanics, it is impossible that this body can retain its position by the adhesion of its particles alone; it



must necessarily revolve with a velocity that will generate a centrifugal force sufficient to balance the attraction of Saturn. Observation confirms the truth of these principles, showing that the rings rotate about the planet in ten hours and a half, which is considerably less than the time a satellite would take to revolve about Saturn at the same distance. Their plane is inclined to the ecliptic, at an angle of  $28^{\circ} 39' 45''$ ; and, in consequence of this obliquity of position, they always appear elliptical to us, but with an eccentricity so variable as even to be occasionally like a straight line drawn across the planet. In the beginning of October, 1832, the plane of the rings passed through the centre of the earth; in that position they are only visible with very superior instruments, on account of their plane passing through the sun. In the end of April, 1833, the rings vanished a second time, and reappeared in June of that year.

The following interesting fact respecting the light which astronomy may throw on hieroglyphics is mentioned.

“It is possible that a knowledge of astronomy may lead to the interpretation of hieroglyphical characters. Astronomical signs are often found on the ancient Egyptian monuments, probably employed by the priests to record dates. The author had occasion to witness an instance of this most interesting application of astronomy, in ascertaining the date of a papyrus, sent from Egypt by Mr. Salt, in the hieroglyphical researches of the late Dr. Thomas Young, whose profound and varied acquirements do honor to his country and to the age in which he lived. The manuscript was found in a mummy-case; it proved to be a horoscope of the age of Ptolemy, and its antiquity was determined from the configuration of the heavens at the time of its construction.”—pp. 105, 106.

Another equally interesting phenomenon is described respecting sound.

“Several attempts have been made to imitate the articulation of the letters of the alphabet. About the year 1779, MM. Kratzenstein, of St. Petersburg, and Kempelen, of Vienna, constructed instruments which articulated many letters, words, and even sentences; Mr. Willis, of Cambridge, has recently adapted cylindrical tubes to a reed, whose length can be varied at pleasure by sliding joints. Upon drawing out the tube, while a column of air from the bellows of an organ is passing through it, the vowels are pronounced in the order *i, e, a, o, u*; on extending

the tube, they are repeated, after a certain interval, in the inverted order *u, o, a, e, i*; after another interval, they are again obtained in the direct order, and so on. When the pitch of the reed is very high, it is impossible to sound some of the vowels, which is in perfect correspondence with the human voice, female singers being unable to pronounce *u* and *o* in their high notes. From the singular discoveries of M. Savart, on the nature of the human voice, and the investigations of Mr. Willis on the mechanism of the larynx, it may be presumed that ultimately the utterance or pronunciation of modern languages will be conveyed, not only to the eye, but also to the ear, of posterity. Had the ancients possessed the means of transmitting such definite sounds, the civilized world would still have responded in sympathetic notes at the distance of hundreds of ages."—pp. 161, 162.

Newton and many others imagined light to be a material substance emitted by all self-luminous bodies in extremely minute particles, moving in straight lines with prodigious velocity, which, by impinging upon the optic nerves, produce the sensation of sight. This theory is, however, inadequate to account for many observed phenomena—and another, that of undulation, seems likely to take its place; a theory which was suggested by Huygens, and developed by Dr. Young.

"It is supposed that the particles of luminous bodies are in a state of perpetual agitation, and that they possess the property of exciting regular vibrations in the ethereal medium, corresponding to the vibrations of their own molecules; and that, on account of its elastic nature, one particle of the ether, when set in motion, communicates its vibrations to those adjacent, which in succession transmit them to those further off, so that the primitive impulse is transferred from particle to particle, and the undulating motion darts through ether like a wave in water. Although the progressive motion of light is known by experience to be uniform, and in a straight line, the vibrations of the particles are always at right angles to the direction of the ray. The propagation of light is like the spreading of waves in water; but if one ray alone be considered, its motion may be conceived by supposing a rope of indefinite length stretched horizontally, one end of which is held in the hand. If it be agitated to and fro at regular intervals, with a motion perpendicular to its length, a series of similar and equal tremors or waves will be propagated along it; and if the regular impulses be given in a variety of planes, as up and down, from right to left, and also in oblique directions, the successive undulations will take place in every possible plane. An analogous motion in the ether, when communicated to the

optic nerves, would produce the sensation of common light. It is evident that the waves which flow from end to end of the cord in a serpentine form are altogether different from the perpendicular vibratory motion of each particle of the rope, which never deviates far from a state of rest. So in ether each particle vibrates perpendicularly to the direction of the ray; but these vibrations are totally different from, and independent of, the undulations which are transmitted through it, in the same manner as the vibrations of each particular ear of corn are independent of the waves that rush from end to end of a harvest-field when agitated by the wind."—pp. 185—187.

The interesting phenomenon of the polarization of light is thus explained.

"In general, when a ray of light is reflected from a pane of plate-glass, or any other substance, it may be reflected a second time from another surface, and it will also pass freely through transparent bodies; but if a ray of light be reflected from a pane of plate-glass at an angle of  $57^{\circ}$ , it is rendered totally incapable of reflection at the surface of another pane of glass in certain definite positions, but will be completely reflected by the second pane in other positions. It likewise loses the property of penetrating transparent bodies in particular positions, whilst it is freely transmitted by them in others. Light so modified, as to be incapable of reflection and transmission in certain directions, is said to be polarized. This name was originally adopted from an imaginary analogy in the arrangement of the particles of light on the corpuscular doctrine to the poles of a magnet, and is still retained in the undulatory theory."—p. 196.

"Professor Airy, in a very profound and able paper lately published in the Cambridge Transactions, has proved that all the different kinds of polarized light are obtained from rock crystal. When polarized light is transmitted through the axis of a crystal of quartz in the emergent ray, the particles of ether move in a circular helix; and when it is transmitted obliquely, so as to form an angle with the axis of the prism, the particles of ether move in an elliptical helix, the ellipticity increasing with the obliquity of the incident ray; so that, when the incident ray falls perpendicularly to the axis, the particles of ether move in a straight line. Thus quartz exhibits every variety of elliptical polarization, even including the extreme cases where the eccentricity is zero, or equal to the greater axis of the ellipse. In many crystals the two rays are so little separated, that it is only from the nature of the transmitted light that they are known to have the property of double refraction. M. Fresnel discovered, by experiments on the properties of light passing through the axis of quartz, that it consists of two superposed rays moving with different velocities;

and professor Airy has proved that, in these two rays, the molecules of ether vibrate in similar ellipses at right angles to each other, but in different directions; that their ellipticity varies with the angle which the incident ray makes with the axis; and that, by the composition of their motions, they produce all the phenomena of the polarized light observed in quartz."—pp. 218, 219.

The following hint respecting the sun is thrown out.

"What the body of the sun may be, it is impossible to conjecture; but he seems to be surrounded by a mottled ocean of flame, through which his dark nucleus appears like black spots, often of enormous size. These spots are almost always comprised within a zone of the sun's surface, whose breadth, measured on a solar meridian, does not extend beyond  $30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  on each side of his equator, though they have been seen at the distance of  $39\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . From their extensive and rapid changes, there is every reason to suppose that the exterior and incandescent part of the sun is gaseous. The solar rays probably arising from chemical processes that continually take place at his surface are transmitted through space in all directions; but notwithstanding the sun's magnitude, and the inconceivable heat that must exist at his surface, as the intensity both of his light and heat diminishes as the square of the distance increases, his kindly influence can hardly be felt at the boundaries of our system. The power of the solar rays depends much upon the manner in which they fall, as we readily perceive from the different climates on our globe."—pp. 252, 253.

On the subject of lightning-rods, Sir John Leslie observes,

"That the efficacy of conductors depends upon the rapidity with which they transmit the electric energy; and as copper is found to transmit the fluid twenty times faster than iron, and as iron conducts it 400,000,000 times more rapidly than water, which conveys it several thousand times faster than dry stone, copper conductors afford the best protection, especially if they expose a broad surface, since the electric fluid is conveyed chiefly along the exterior of bodies. The object of a conductor being to carry off the electricity in case of a stroke, and not to invite an enemy, it ought to project very little, if at all, above the building."—pp. 298, 299.

"How manifold are thy works," well may we exclaim on reading such passages as the following:

"Multitudes of nebulous spots are to be seen on the clear vault of heaven which have every appearance of being clusters like



those just described, but are too distant to be resolved into stars by the most excellent telescopes. This nebulous matter exists in vast abundance in space. No fewer than 2,000 nebulae and clusters of stars were observed by Sir William Herschel, whose places have been computed from his observations, reduced to a common epoch, and arranged into a catalogue in order of right ascension by his sister, Miss Caroline Herschel, a lady so justly eminent for astronomical knowledge and discovery. Six or seven hundred nebulae have already been ascertained in the southern hemisphere; of these the magellanic clouds are the most remarkable. The nature and use of this matter, scattered over the heavens in such a variety of forms, is involved in the greatest obscurity. That it is a self-luminous, phosphorescent, material substance, in a highly dilated or gaseous state, but gradually subsiding by the mutual gravitation of its particles into stars and sidereal systems, is the hypothesis which seems to be most generally received; but the only way that any real knowledge on this mysterious subject can be obtained is by the determination of the form, place, and present state of each individual nebula; and a comparison of these with future observations will show generations to come the changes that may now be going on in these supposed rudiments of future systems. With this view, Sir John Herschel began in the year 1825 the arduous and pious task of revising his illustrious father's observations, which he finished a short time before he sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, in order to disclose the mysteries of the southern hemisphere, because he considers our firmament to be exhausted till further improvements in the telescope shall enable astronomers to penetrate deeper into space. In a truly splendid paper read before the Royal Society on the 21st of November, 1833, he gives the places of 2,500 nebulae and clusters of stars. Of these, 500 are new—the rest he mentions with peculiar pleasure as having been most accurately determined by his father. This work is the more extraordinary, as, from bad weather, fogs, twilight, and moonlight, these shadowy appearances are not visible, at an average, above thirty nights in the year.”—pp. 397—399.

The general subjects of the volume are thus summed up.

“It thus appears that the theory of dynamics, founded upon terrestrial phenomena, is indispensable for acquiring a knowledge of the revolutions of the celestial bodies and their reciprocal influences. The motions of the satellites are affected by the forms of their primaries, and the figures of the planets themselves depend upon their rotations. The symmetry of their internal structure proves the stability of these rotatory motions, and the immutability of the length of the day, which furnishes an invariable standard of time; and the actual size of the terrestrial spheroid

affords the means of ascertaining the dimensions of the solar system, and provides an invariable foundation for a system of weights and measures. The mutual attraction of the celestial bodies disturbs the fluids at their surfaces, whence the theory of the tides and the oscillations of the atmosphere. The density and elasticity of the air, varying with every alternation of temperature, lead to the consideration of barometrical changes, the measurement of heights, and capillary attraction; and the doctrine of sound, including the theory of music, is to be referred to the small undulations of the aerial medium. A knowledge of the action of matter upon light is requisite for tracing the curved path of its rays through the atmosphere, by which the true places of distant objects are determined, whether in the heavens or on the earth. By this we learn the nature and properties of the sunbeam, the mode of its propagation through the ethereal fluid, or in the interior of material bodies, and the origin of color. By the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, the velocity of light is ascertained, and that velocity, in the aberration of the fixed stars, furnishes the only direct proof of the real motion of the earth. The effects of the invisible rays of light are immediately connected with chemical action; and heat, forming a part of the solar ray, so essential to animated and inanimated existence, whether considered as invisible light or as a distinct quality, is too important an agent in the economy of creation not to hold a principal place in the order of physical science. Whence follows its distribution over the surface of the globe, its power on the geological convulsions of our planet, its influence on the atmosphere and on climate, and its effects on vegetable and animal life, evinced in the localities of organized beings on the earth, in the waters, and in the air. The connection of heat with electrical phenomena, and the electricity of the atmosphere, together with all its energetic effects, its identity with magnetism and the phenomena of terrestrial polarity, can only be understood from the theories of these invisible agents, and are probably principal causes of chemical affinities. Innumerable instances might be given in illustration of the immediate connection of the physical sciences, most of which are united still more closely by the common bond of analysis which is daily extending its empire, and will ultimately embrace almost every subject in nature in its formulæ.

"These formulæ, emblematic of omniscience, condense into a few symbols the immutable laws of the universe. This mighty instrument of human power itself originates in the primitive constitution of the human mind, and rests upon a few fundamental axioms which have eternally existed in him who implanted them in the breast of man, when he created him after his own image."  
—pp. 411—414.

## ARTICLE IX.

## DISCOVERIES IN CENTRAL ASIA.

*Travels into Bokhara ; being the Account of a Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary, and Persia ; also, Narrative of a Voyage on the Indus, from the Sea to Lahore, with Presents from the King of Great Britain ; Performed under the Orders of the Supreme Government of India, in the years 1831, 1832, and 1833. By Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, F. R. S., of the East India Company's service, &c. &c. In three volumes. London : John Murray. 1834. pp. 356, 473, 332.*

*Journey to the North of India, overland from England, through Russia, Persia, and Affghanistan. By Lieutenant Arthur Conolly. In two volumes. London : Richard Bentley. 1834. pp. 417, 439.*

WE hasten to lay before our readers some accounts of these interesting volumes. Lieutenant Burnes has penetrated into regions previously unvisited by modern Europeans. He, and his companion, Dr. Gerard, with singular intrepidity, have conducted us almost to the western borders of China. Scarcely any travels of modern days have given us such unmingled delight. Lieutenant Burnes left Delhi on the 23d of December, 1831, and met his fellow-traveller, Dr. James Gerard, of the Bengal army, at Lodiana, on the frontiers. On the 3d of January, 1832, they plunged into the solitude of an Indian desert, and on the 17th, entered the imperial city of Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, which once rivalled Delhi. They there remained till the 11th of February, when they proceeded across the country to the Indus. On the 14th of March, they crossed that river, and entered Affghanistan. At Cabool, they met with Mr. Wolff, the eccentric Jewish traveller.

“We had not been many hours in Cabool before we heard of the misfortunes of Mr. Wolff, the missionary of the Jews, who was now detained at a neighboring village, and lost no time in

despatching assistance to him. He joined us the following day, and gave a long and singular account of his escape from death and slavery. This gentleman, it appears, had issued forth, like another Benjamin of Tudela, to inquire after the Israelites, and entered Tartary as a Jew, which is the best travelling character in a Mohammedan country. Mr. Wolff, however, is a convert to Christianity, and he published his creed to the wreck of the Hebrew people. He also gave himself out as being in search of the lost tribes; yet he made but few inquiries among the Afghans of Cabool, though they declare themselves to be their descendants. The narration of Mr. Wolff's adventures excited our sympathy and compassion; and, if we could not coincide in many of his speculations regarding the termination of the world, we made the reverend gentleman most welcome, and found him an addition to our society in Cabool. He had been in Bokhara, but had not ventured to preach in that centre of Islam. His after misfortunes had originated from his denominating himself a Hajee, which implies a Mohammedan pilgrim, and for which he had been plundered and beaten.

"Our first object, after arrival, was to be introduced to the chief of Cabool, Sidar Dost Mohammed Khan. The Nawab intimated our wishes, and we were very politely invited to dine with the governor on the evening of the 4th of May. Dr. Gerard was unable to attend from sickness; but Mr. Wolff and myself were conducted, in the evening, to the Bala Hissar, or Palace of the Kings, where the governor received us most courteously. He rose on our entrance, saluted in the Persian fashion, and then desired us to be seated on a velvet carpet near himself. He assured us that we were welcome to his country; and, though he had seen few of us, he respected our nation and character. To this I replied as civilly as I could, praising the equity of his government, and the protection which he extended to the traveller and the merchant.

"Dost Mohammed Khan then turned to Mr. Wolff for an explanation of his history; and, as he was aware of the gentleman's vocations, he had assembled among the party several Mohammedan doctors, who were prepared to dispute on points of religion. Since I stood as Mr. Wolff's interpreter, I might proceed to make mention of the various arguments which were adduced on either side; but I do not anticipate what the reverend gentleman will, no doubt, give to the world. As is usual on such subjects, the one party failed to convince the other; and, but for the admirable tact of the chief himself, the consequence might have been disagreeable. The Mohammedans seemed to think that they had gained the day, and even referred it for my decision; but I excused myself from the difficult task, on the grounds of being no moollah (priest). As these reverend doctors, however, appeared to found their creed upon reason, I thought



the opportunity too favorable to let them escape, if the argument I intended to use did not boast of being original. I asked them to state their time of prayers; and, among others, they named before sunrise, and after sunset. 'Such are the hours,' said I, 'rigidly enjoined by the Koran?'—'Yes,' replied the priest; 'and every one is an infidel who neglects them.' These premises being given, I begged the doctor to inform me how these prayers could be performed in the arctic circle, where the sun neither rose nor set for five or six months in the year. The divine had not before heard the argument: he stammered out various confused sentences; and at last asserted that prayers were not required in those countries, where it was sufficient to repeat the 'Culuma,' or creed of the Mohammedans. I immediately required the divine to name the chapter of the Koran on which he founded his doctrine, since I did not remember to have seen it in the book. He could not, for the Koran does not contain it. A sharp dispute now arose among the Afghans; nor was the subject renewed, but changed to more intelligible matters."—pp. 133—136, 139, 140.

About a mile from Cabool is the tomb of the emperor Baber, whose commentaries have lately been translated into English, by Mr. William Erskine. In them are the following words regarding Cabool. "The climate is extremely delightful, and there is no such place in the known world." He died in 1530. Near his tomb lie the remains of many of his wives and children. Cabool is a most bustling and populous city. The great bazar is an elegant arcade, nearly 600 feet long, and about 30 broad. The city is thickly peopled, and has about 60,000 population. The inhabitants say it is 6,000 years old. There are but about 20 Armenians in Cabool, all of whom have adopted the customs of Mohammedans.

Mr. Burnes adverts to the disputed point, whether the Afghans are to be considered as of Jewish origin.

"From the crowd of people we constantly met at the house of our host, I was resolved on gathering some information on the much disputed point of the Afghans being Jews. They brought me all their histories, but I had no time to examine them, and wished for oral information. The Afghans call themselves, 'Bin i Israel,' or children of Israel; but consider the term of 'Yahoodée,' or Jew, to be one of reproach. They say that Nebuchadnezzar, after the overthrow of the temple of Jerusalem, transplanted them to the town of Ghore, near Bameean; and that they are called Afghans, from their chief Afghana, who was

a son of the uncle of Asof (the vizier of Solomon), who was the son of Berkia. The genealogy of this person is traced from a collateral branch, on account of the obscurity of his own parent, which is by no means uncommon in the East. They say that they lived as Jews, till Khaleed (called by the title of Caliph) summoned them, in the first century of Mohammedanism, to assist in the wars with the infidels. For their services on that occasion, Kyse, their leader, got the title of Abdoolrusheed, which means the Son of the mighty. He was also told to consider himself the 'butan' (an Arabic word), or mast of his tribe, on which its prosperity would hinge, and by which the vessel of their state was to be governed. Since that time, the Afghans are sometimes called *Putan*, by which name they are familiarly known in India. I never before heard this explanation of the term. After the campaign with Khaleed, the Afghans returned to their native country, and were governed by a king of the line of Kyanee, or Cyrus, till the eleventh century, when they were subdued by Mahmood of Ghuzni. A race of kings sprung from Ghore, subverted the house of Ghuzni, and conquered India. As is well known, this dynasty was divided, at the death of its founder, into the divisions east and west of the Indus; a state of things which lasted till the posterity of Timourlane reduced both to a new yoke.

"Having precisely stated the traditions and history of the Afghans, I can see no good reason for discrediting them, though there be some anachronisms, and the dates do not exactly correspond with those of the Old Testament. In the histories of Greece and Rome we find similar corruptions, as well as in the later works of the Arab and Mohammedan writers. The Afghans look like Jews; they say they are descended from Jews; and the younger brother marries the widow of the elder, according to the law of Moses. The Afghans entertain strong prejudices against the Jewish nation; which would at least show that they had no desire to claim, without a just cause, a descent from them. Since some of the tribes of Israel came to the East, why should we not admit that the Afghans are their descendants, converted to Mohammedanism? I am aware that I am differing from a high authority; but I trust that I have made it appear on reasonable grounds."—pp. 162—164.

The travellers quitted Cabool on the 18th of May, and passed over the mountains, one peak of which was 13,400 feet above the sea. The valley of Bameean is celebrated for its colossal idols and innumerable excavations, which are to be seen in all parts for about eight miles. They generally bear Cufic inscriptions, and are of a later date than the age of Mohammed. There are no relics of Asiatic antiquity

which have more roused the curiosity of the learned than these idols. Mr. Burnes gives a large drawing of them. They consist of two figures, one, a male, 120 feet high, and the other a female. Their origin is wholly unknown.

At the pass of Akrobat, 15 miles from the Bameean valley, the travellers crossed the boundary of Affghanistan, and entered Toorkistan, which is denominated Tartary, (more properly Tatar, by Europeans. At one place they descended a ravine 300 yards wide, while the rocks rose precipitously above them to the height of 3,000 feet. The cheerful feelings of the adventurers are thus graphically described.

"The life we now passed was far more agreeable than a detail of its circumstances would lead one to believe, with our dangers and fatigues. We mounted at daylight, and generally travelled without intermission till two or three in the afternoon. Our day's progress averaged about twenty miles; but the people have no standard of measure; and miles, coses, and fursukhs, were equally unknown, for they always reckon by the day's journey. We often breakfasted on the saddle, on dry bread and cheese; slept always on the ground, and in the open air; and after the day's march, sat down cross-legged, till night and sleep overtook us. Our own party was every thing that could be wished, for the Nazir and his amusing fellow-traveller were very obliging: we ourselves only amounted to eight persons; three of them were natives of the country, and two others were instructed to pretend that they were quite distinct from us; though one of them noted the few bearings of the compass, which I myself could not conveniently take without leading to discovery. We were quite happy in such scenes, and at the novelty of every thing; and it was also delightful to recognize some old friends among the weeds and shrubs. The hawthorn and sweet brier grew on the verge of the river; and the rank hemlock, that sprung up under their shade, now appeared beautiful from the associations which it awakened. Our society, too, was amusing; and I took every favorable occasion of mingling with the travellers whom we met by the way, and at the halting places."—pp. 198, 199.

On the 30th of May, they made their last march among the mountains, and debouched into the plains of Tartary, at Khooloom, or Tash Koorgha, where they had a noble view of the country north of them, sloping down to the Oxus. At Khooloom, they learned that the officers of the custom-house had despatched a messenger to Moorad Beg at Koon-

dooz, 70 miles out of their road, and up the Oxus. This vexatious interference was the cause of serious delay, and of no little danger. Dr. Gerard was left sick at Khooloom, while Mr. Burnes proceeded to visit the chief; of whom, after much delay, an order for safe passport beyond the frontier was obtained. The ruler of Koondooz is an Uzbek Tartar, who has lately risen into power, is quite independent, and rules all the countries immediately north of Hindoo Koosh. On the 9th of June they reached Muzar, a town of about 500 houses, where Mr. Trebeck, the last of Moorcroft's unfortunate party expired. This traveller crossed the mountains in 1824, and was entrapped and robbed of 23,000 rupees, by the same Moorad Beg, who detained Mr. Burnes. He died the following year, (not without suspicions of having been poisoned,) at a place about 80 miles from Balkh. All the party perished. Mr. Moorcroft's papers have been rescued, and in part published by the Geographical Society of London.

On the morning of the 9th of June, the travellers entered the royal city of Balkh, where they remained three days. By the Asiatics it is named "the mother of cities," and is said to have been built by Kyamoors, the founder of the Persian monarchy. After the conquests of Alexander the Great, it flourished under the name of Bactria, with a dynasty of Grecian kings. It continued subject to the Persian empire, and the residence of the head of the Magi, till the followers of Zoroaster were overthrown by the inroads of the caliphs. Its inhabitants were butchered in cold blood by Jenghis Khan; and under the house of Timour it became a province of the Mogul empire. It afterwards fell into the hands of the Afghans. The deputy of the king of Bokhara now governs it. Its population is about 2,000, chiefly natives of Cabool. It stands on a plain, about six miles from the hills. The city itself, like Babylon, has become almost a perfect mine of bricks for the surrounding country. The climate is very insalubrious but not disagreeable. Its unhealthiness is ascribed to the water.

On the 12th of June, the travellers left Balkh for Bokhara. The following passage from Quintus Curtius, the historian of Alexander, is said most accurately to describe the country.

"The face of Bactriana is contrastingly diversified: in many places, luxuriant trees and vines yield fruit of fine growth and



flavor; numerous springs (canals?) irrigate a rich soil. The more generous land is sowed with corn; other fields afford pasturage. Further, great part of the country is deformed by tracts of barren sand, in which a mournful absence of vegetation refuses nourishment to man. When the winds blow from the Indian ocean, the floating dust is swept into masses. The cultivated portion of the country is crowded with inhabitants, and well stocked with horses. Bactra, the capital, is situated under mount Paropamisus. The river Bactrus, which washes its walls, gives name to the city and province."—pp. 245, 246.

The food of the party on this part of the route, consisted of bread and tea; for the Toorkmuns often object to dispose of their sheep, since it injures their estate. They found a diet of bread tolerably nutritive, and had much refreshment from the tea, which they drank with it at all hours. "I found," says Lieut. Burnes, "that abstinence from wine and spirits proved rather salutary than otherwise; and I doubt if we could have undergone the vicissitudes of climate, had we used such stimulants."

The manner in which they crossed the Oxus was rather novel.

"The mode in which we passed the Oxus was singular, and, I believe, quite peculiar to this part of the country. We were drawn by a pair of horses, who were yoked to the boat, on each bow, by a rope fixed to the hair of the mane. The bridle is then put on as if the horse were to be mounted; the boat is pushed into the stream, and, without any other assistance than the horses, is ferried directly across the most rapid channel. A man on board holds the reins of each horse, and allows them to play loosely in the mouth, urging him to swim; and, thus guided, he advances without difficulty. There is not an oar to aid in impelling the boat; and the only assistance from those on board consists in manœuvring a rude rounded pole at the stern, to prevent the vessel from wheeling in the current, and to give both horses clear water to swim. They sometimes use four horses; and in that case, two are fixed at the stern. These horses require no preparatory training, since they indiscriminately yoke all that cross the river. One of the boats was dragged over by the aid of two of our jaded ponies; and the vessel which attempted to follow us without them, was carried so far down the stream as to detain us a whole day on the banks, till it could be brought up to the camp of our caravan. By this ingenious mode, we crossed a river nearly half a mile wide, and running at the rate of three miles and a half an hour, in fifteen minutes of actual sailing; but there was some detention from having to thread our way

among the sand banks that separated the branches. I see nothing to prevent the general adoption of this expeditious mode of passing a river, and it would be an invaluable improvement below the Ghauts of India. I had never before seen the horse converted to such a use; and in my travels through India, I had always considered that noble animal as a great incumbrance in crossing a river.”—pp. 249—251.

Lieut. Burnes mentions the following controversy which occurred on the road.

“I overheard a controversy among some of the merchants regarding Christians, whether they were or were not infidels (kassirs), and, as may be imagined, was not a little anxious to hear the decision. One person, who was a priest, maintained that they could not be infidels, since they were people of the book. When it was asserted that they did not believe in Mohammed, the subject became more complicated. I learned, from their conversation, that a universal belief prevails among the Mohammedans, of the overthrow of their creed by Christians. Christ, they say, lives, but Mohammed is dead; yet their deductions are curious, since Jesus is to descend from the fourth heaven, and the whole world will be *Mohammedanized!*”—pp. 256, 257.

On the 27th of June they entered Bokhara. The introduction to the king’s minister is thus described.

“On entering the city, the authorities did not even search us; but in the afternoon, an officer summoned us to the presence of the minister. My fellow-traveller was still laboring under fever, and could not accompany me; I therefore proceeded alone to the ark or palace, where the minister lived along with the king. I was lost in amazement at the novel scene before me, since we had to walk for about two miles through the streets of Bokhara, before reaching the citadel. I was immediately introduced to the minister, or as he is styled the Koosh Beggee, or Lord of all the Begs, an elderly man, of great influence, who was sitting in a small room that had a private court-yard in front of it. He desired me to be seated outside on the pavement, yet evinced both a kind and considerate manner, which set my mind at ease. The hardness of my seat, and the distance from the minister, did not overpower me with grief, since his son, who came in during the interview, was even seated further off than myself. I presented a silver watch and a Cashmere dress, which I had brought for the purpose; but he declined to receive any thing, saying, that he was but the slave of the king. He then interrogated me for about two hours as to my own affairs, and the objects which

had brought me to a country so remote as Bokhara. I told our usual tale of being in progress *towards* our native country, and produced my passport, from the governor-general of India, which the minister read with peculiar attention. I then added, that Bokhara was a country of such celebrity among Eastern nations, that I had been chiefly induced to visit Toorkistan for the purpose of seeing it. 'But what is your profession?' said the minister. I replied, that I was an officer of the Indian army. 'But tell me,' said he, 'something about your knowledge,' and he here made various observations on the customs and politics of Europe, but particularly of Russia, on which he was well informed."—pp. 268, 269.

Bokhara is crowded with a motley assemblage of inhabitants—Persians, Turks, Russians, Tartars, Chinese, Indians, Afghans, Toorkmens, Calmuks, Cossacks, &c. The Jews in Bokhara are remarkably handsome. The females are set off by ringlets of beautiful hair hanging over their cheeks and necks. There are about 4,000 Jews in Bokhara, emigrants from Meshid, in Persia, who are chiefly employed in dying cloth. There are but few Armenians. The mass of the people are Mohammedans of Toorkistan.

The employments in the bazar are mentioned.

"My reader may now, perhaps, form some idea of the appearance of the inhabitants of Bokhara. From morn to night the crowd which assembles raises a humming noise, and one is stunned at the moving mass of human beings. In the middle of the area the fruits of the season are sold under the shade of a square piece of mat, supported by a single pole. One wonders at the never-ending employment of the fruiterers in dealing out their grapes, melons, apricots, apples, peaches, pears, and plums to a continued succession of purchasers. It is with difficulty that a passage can be forced through the streets, and it is only done at the momentary risk of being rode over by some one on a horse or donkey. These latter animals are exceedingly fine, and amble along at a quick pace with their riders and burdens. Carts of a light construction are also driving up and down, since the streets are not too narrow to admit of wheeled carriages. In every part of the bazar there are people making tea, which is done in large European urns, instead of tea-pots, and kept hot by a metal tube. The love of the Bokharees for tea is, I believe, without parallel, for they drink it at all times and places, and in half a dozen ways: with and without sugar, with and without milk, with grease, with salt, &c. Next to the venders of this hot beverage one may purchase '*rahit i jan*,' or the delight of life,—grape jelly or syrup, mixed up with chopped ice. This abundance of

ice is one of the greatest luxuries in Bokhara, and it may be had till the cold weather makes it unnecessary. It is pitted in winter, and sold at a price within the reach of the poorest people. No one ever thinks of drinking water in Bokhara without icing it, and a beggar may be seen purchasing it as he proclaims his poverty and entreats the bounty of the passenger. It is a refreshing sight to see the huge masses of it, with the thermometer at 90°, colored, scraped, and piled into heaps like snow."—pp. 276–278.

"I took an early opportunity of seeing the slave-bazar of Bokhara, which is held every Saturday morning. The Uzbeks manage all their affairs by means of slaves, who are chiefly brought from Persia by the Toorkmuns. Here these poor wretches are exposed for sale, and occupy thirty or forty stalls, where they are examined like cattle, only with this difference, that they are able to give an account of themselves *viva voce*. On the morning I visited the bazar, there were only six unfortunate beings, and I witnessed the manner in which they are disposed of. They are first interrogated regarding their parentage and capture, and if they are Mohammedans, that is, Soonees. The question is put in that form, for the Uzbeks do not consider a Shiah to be a true believer; with them, as with the primitive Christians, a sectary is more odious than an unbeliever. After the intended purchaser is satisfied of the slave being an infidel (kafir), he examines his body, particularly noting if he be free from leprosy, so common in Toorkistan, and then proceeds to bargain for his price. Three of the Persian boys were for sale at thirty tillas of gold apiece\*; and it was surprising to see how contented the poor fellows sat under their lot. I heard one of them telling how he had been seized south of Meshid, while tending his flocks. Another, who overheard a conversation among the by-standers, regarding the scarcity of slaves that season, stated, that a great number had been taken. His companion said with some feeling, 'You and I only think so, because of our own misfortune; but these people must know better.' There was one unfortunate girl, who had been long in service, and was now exposed for sale by her master, because of his poverty. I felt certain that many a tear had been shed in the court where I surveyed the scene; but I was assured from every quarter that slaves are kindly treated; and the circumstance of so many of them continuing in the country after they have been manumitted, seems to establish this fact. The bazars of Bokhara are chiefly supplied from Orgunje. Russian and Chinese are also sold, but rarely. The feelings of an European revolt at this most odious traffic; but the Uzbeks entertain no such notions, and believe that they are conferring a benefit on a Persian when they purchase him, and see that he renounces his heretical opinions."—pp. 281–283.

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\* 200 rupees—£20.



Lieutenant Burnes saw four Mohammedans, who had been chastised for offending against their religion on Friday. They had been caught asleep at prayer time, and one had been found smoking. Notwithstanding, tobacco and all the apparatus for inhaling it may be openly purchased. But if an individual is found smoking it, he is instantly punished with stripes, or, with a blackened face, paraded on a donkey through the streets. There are about 300 Hindoos in Bokhara, living unmolested. There are 18 public baths; a few are of large dimensions, but the generality of them bring an annual income of 1,000 rupees. The king of Bokhara has a good character among his countrymen. At his elevation, he gave away all his own wealth. He is strict in his religious observances, but less bigoted than his father. He acts according to the koran in all cases. As poisoning is common, water and all kinds of food must first be tried by the minister, before it reaches his majesty's lips. Tradition assigns the foundation of Bokhara to the age of Alexander the Great. It lies embosomed among gardens and trees. It is a delightful place, and has a salubrious climate. Its circumference exceeds eight miles. It is triangular in shape, and surrounded by a wall of earth twenty feet high, with 12 gates. Every where are found ponderous and massy buildings, colleges, mosques and lofty minarets. About twenty caravansarais contain the merchants of different nations, and about 100 ponds and fountains, constructed of squared stone, furnish its numerous population with water. The city is intersected by canals, shaded by mulberry trees. There are many superior dwellings. Some houses are neatly painted with stuccoed walls. The population is about 150,000. The priests assert that in all other parts of the globe, light *descends* upon the earth; but on the other hand, that it *ascends* from the holy Bokhara! There are about 366 colleges, great and small, a third of which are large buildings, that contain upwards of 70 or 80 students. Many have but 20, some but 10. The colleges are built in the style of caravansarais. They are well endowed. A fixed allowance is given to the professors, and each of the resident students. All the bazars and baths in the city as well as most of the surrounding fields have been purchased by zealous Mohammedans for the support of colleges. The students are both young and aged, and from all the neighboring countries. The colleges are shut half the year by order

of the king, to enable their inmates to work in the fields, and gain something for their livelihood. The students in term time are entirely occupied with theology. A professor says, "Prove that there is a God," and about five hundred set arguments are adduced. The subsequent extract throws further light on the laws and literature of the people.

"Whatever we may think of the customs and laws, they have raised the condition and promoted the welfare of this country; and there is no place in the whole of Asia where such universal protection is extended to all classes. Those who are not Mohammedans have only to conform to a few established customs to be placed on a level with 'believers.' The code of laws is sanguinary, but it is not unjust. When we place the vices of Bokhara in juxtaposition with its laws and justice, we have still much to condemn; but the people are happy, the country is flourishing, trade prospers, and property is protected. This is no small praise under the government of a despot.

"There is a prevalent opinion in Europe, that this portion of Asia was at one time the seat of civilization and literature. We cannot doubt but the Greek monarchs of Bactria preserved, in their newly acquired kingdom, the arts and sciences of their native land. An eminent historian\* has thrown out a hint, that 'he harbors a suspicion of most of the learning of Scythia and India being derived from these Greek monarchs.' With India we have, at present, no concern; but, in central and western Asia, I fail to confirm the opinion of the great historian. In the sixth century, when Alaric and Attila invaded the Roman empire, we find them possessed of no arts or literature. In the eighth century, when overwhelmed by the caliphs, we hear of none. In the tenth century, when the same countries sent forth the Seljukian line of kings, we still find them shepherds, and embracing the religion of Islam, which the caliphs had now firmly planted. The irruptions of Jengis, in the thirteenth century, present to us a horde of barbarians; nor have we any steps towards improvement in the following age, under the all-destroying Timour. The whole of these inroads were undertaken by barbarians; and it is not till Timour's death that we find a literature in central Asia. The astronomy of Ulug Beg has immortalized Samarcand; and he might have drawn his science from Bactria: but the Arabs were, in early ages, no mean astronomers; and we may then, with more probability, trace this department of science to that people, who overran the country a thousand years after the Macedonians. In an age later than the house of Timour, we have had an inundation of

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\* Gibbon.

another tribe, the Uzbeks, from the same region which produced Attila and Jengis; and they, too, have been as barbarous as their predecessors of a thousand summers. It is certain that literature received great encouragement in this country during Timour's age. In Baber's days we have a constellation of poets of no mean excellence; for he himself gives us an insight into the spirit of the age by his quotations and his rhymes. It would appear that these native graces continued till a very late period; for the people are poetically inclined. They have now, I fear, taken an eternal farewell of Transoxiana: the reign of the late king, Meer Hyder or Saeed (the pure), introduced an era of bigotry and religious enthusiasm."—pp. 309—312.

Samarcand, the capital of Timour is 120 miles from Bokhara, and contains 8,000 or 10,000 inhabitants. Some of its buildings remain to declare its former glory. Three of its colleges are perfect, and one of these formed the famous observatory of Ulug Beg. The tomb of Timour and his family still remains.

After a month's residence in Bokhara, the travellers recommenced their journey on the 21st of July. The king's minister thus bade farewell.

"He recurred to the subject of medicine, and was greatly pleased with the lever of an instrument for drawing teeth, which was explained to him. He fixed it on the wood of the door, and wrenched out some pieces of it. He then begged that we would return to Bokhara as 'trading ambassadors,' to establish a better understanding and a more extended commerce with the country. He now summoned the Cafila-bashee of the caravan, and a chief of the Toorkmuns, who was to accompany it as a safeguard against his tribe. He wrote down their names, families, habitations, and, looking to them, said, 'I consign these Europeans to you. If any accident befall them, your wives and families are in my power, and I will root them from the face of the earth. Never return to Bokhara, but with a letter containing an assurance, under their seal, that you have served them well.' Turning to us, he continued, 'you must not produce the "firman" of the king, which I now give you, till you find it necessary. Travel without show, and make no acquaintances; for you are to pass through a dangerous country. When you finish your journey, pray for me, as I am an old man, and your well-wisher.' He then gave each of us a dress, which, though far from valuable, was enhanced by the remark, 'Do not go away empty-handed: take this, but conceal it.' I thanked the minister, with every sincerity, in the name of my companion and myself. He rose,

and, holding up his hands, gave us the 'fatha;' and we left the house of the Koosh Begge. I had not reached home till I was again sent for, and found the Vizier sitting with five or six well-dressed people, who had been evidently talking about us. 'Sikunder (as I was always addressed), said the Koosh Begge, I have sent for you to ask if any one has molested you in this city, or taken money from you in my name, and if you leave us contented.' I replied, that we had been treated as honored guests; that our baggage had not even been opened, nor our property taxed, and that I should ever remember, with the deepest sense of gratitude, the many kindnesses that had been shown to us in the holy Bokhara. The reply closed all our communications with the Vizier; and the detail will speak for itself. I quitted this worthy man with a full heart and with sincere wishes, which I still feel, for the prosperity of this country."—pp. 326, 327.

The river Oxus is particularly mentioned under that name by the historians of Alexander, though the Asiatics have always called it Jihoon and Amoo. Jihoon means a flood, and is used in all the Turkish and Persian works that treat upon these countries. The river rises in the table lands of Pamere, and is formed by a variety of rivulets which collect in that elevated region of Asia. It waters the rich valley of Budukshan, where it receives the river of that name, the greatest of its tributaries, and is afterwards joined by a variety of smaller streams. It approaches within 20 miles of Khoolum, and passes about half a degree to the north of Balkh. It here enters on the desert by a course nearly north-west, fertilizes a limited tract of about a mile on either side, till it reaches the territories of Orgunje or Khiva, the ancient Khorasm, where it is more widely spread by art, and is there lost in the sea of Aral. So much water is drawn from it for purposes of irrigation, in the latter part of its course, that it forms a swampy delta, overspread with reeds and aquatic plants. Lieutenant Burnes doubts whether the Oxus ever had any other than its present course. South of Balkhan there are physical obstacles to its entering the Caspian, and north of that point, its more natural course is the sea of Aral. The dry river-beds between Khiva and Astrabad are probably the remains of some of the canals of the kingdom of Khorasm. The Oxus is navigable throughout the greater part of its course. Were it not for the marshes which choke its embouchure, it might be ascended from the sea of Aral to near Koondooz, a distance of 600



miles. Deducting that swampy delta, we have a navigable inland navigation of 550 miles. It flows with a velocity of nearly three and a half miles an hour. The annual inundation commences in May, and closes in October. In winter, when it has retired to its bed, it is contracted to a space of 400 yards, but is never fordable. The advantages of the Oxus, both in a political and commercial point of view, are very great.

The journey of the travellers through the desert of the Toorkmuns was fraught with interest. They halted for four days at Charjoee, a town of 4,000 or 5,000 souls, and the last inhabited spot of civilization between Bokhara and Persia. The market-day, which occurred during their stay, furnished an interesting scene. Most of the people were Toorkmuns, dressed in high sheep-skin caps, like the natives of Orgunje. There were about 2,000 or 3,000 people in the bazar, but there was very little bustle and confusion, though there was much buying and selling. We copy a few notices respecting the Toorkmuns.

"In the middle of our march through the desert, we met seven unfortunate Persians, who had been captured by the Toorkmuns, and were now on their road to Bokhara, where they would be sold. Five of them were chained together, and trod their way through the deep sand. There was a general shout of compassion, as the caravan passed these miserable beings; and the sympathy did not fail to affect the poor creatures themselves. They cried, and gave a longing look, as the last camel of the caravan passed to their dear native country. The camel on which I rode happened to be in the rear, and I stayed to hear their tale of wo. They had been seized by the Toorkmuns at Ghacen, near Meshid, a few weeks before, when the culture of their fields had led them beyond the threshold of their homes. They were weary and thirsty, and I gave them all I could,—a single melon; a civility, little as it was, which was received with gratitude.

"The Toorkmun camp, or 'oba,' at which we halted, presented to us a scene of great novelty. It consisted of about 150 conical moveable huts, called 'khirgahs,' which were perched on a rising ground. There was no order in the distribution, and they stood like so many gigantic bee-hives, which, if they had not had black roofs, might not be a bad comparison; and we might also take the children as the bees, for they were very numerous. I wondered at the collection of so many rising plunderers. Seeing the Toorkmuns in a body, it may be cer-

tainly distinguished, that they have something Tartar in their appearance; their eyes are small, and the eyelids appear swollen. They are a handsome race of people. All of them were dressed in the 'tilpak,' a square or conical black cap of sheep-skin, about a foot high, which is far more becoming than a turban, and gives to a party of Toorkmuns the appearance of a soldier-like and disciplined body. The Toorkmuns are remarkably fond of bright colored clothes, and choose the lightest shades of red, green, and yellow, as the patterns of their flowing 'chupkuns,' or pelisses. They sauntered about their encampment in a great state of listlessness; and what have they to do but to live on the proceeds of their last foray? They have but few fields, and one or two individuals may tend their countless flocks at pasture. Their dogs, indeed, perform this office for them. These animals are very docile, but ferocious to a stranger: they are shaggy, appearing to be of the mastiff breed, and bear a high price even among these people. The martial habits of the Toorkmuns appeared in my eyes the more striking, as they had cleared the circle of their encampment of brushwood for about a mile round. It had, I believe, been cut for firewood; but the resemblance to an esplanade, or a parade ground, was none the less on that account. In my notice of the Toorkmuns, I must not now forget the ladies, whose head-dress would do honor to the galaxy of an English ball-room. It consists of a lofty white turban, shaped like a military chako, but higher, over which a red or white scarf is thrown, that falls down to the waist.

"The Toorkmuns are Toorks; but they differ from the Uzbeks, and are entirely devoted to a pastoral life. There are several great tribes of the race, all of whom claim a common origin; we had seen the Ersarees on the Oxus, and were now mingling with the tribe of Saruk, beyond which are the Salore. Towards the Caspian lie the Tuka, Goklan, and Yumood, all of them great tribes, and of which I shall speak as we advance.

"The terror which the Toorkmuns inspire among the people of the neighboring countries is fearful, nor is this surprising, since they evince such fortitude and persevering energy in their dangerous occupation. We cannot fail to admire their address, and acknowledge their valor, at the time that we deplore the lot of the unhappy country on which they display their prowess. The manners and customs of the Toorkmuns, in the odious practices which they pursue against their fellow man, sap the best principles of human nature, and we consequently find this people wanting in much of the honor which is often seen among half-civilized nations. 'A Toorkmun,' the people will tell you, 'is a dog, and will only be kept quiet with a bit of bread, like a dog: give it then, is the doctrine of the traveller, and pass on unmolested.' They have likewise the character of being perfidious and treacherous, nor is it altogether unmerited. The

Persians have endeavored, but without success, to put a stop to these reckless inroads of the Toorkmun."—pp. 11, 12, 27—29, 40, 43.

On the morning of Sept. 1st, they descried the highlands of Persian Khorasan. On the 14th, they reached the holy city, Meshid, where they found the prince royal of Persia, Abbas Meerza. About this time, Dr. Gerard formed the resolution of turning down upon Herat and Candahar, and thus retracing his steps to Cabool, a route which lieutenant Conolly had just before passed, whose travels we shall notice in the sequel. The results of Dr. Gerard's tour are not yet known. From the 29th of September to the 21st of October, Mr. Burnes spent in a journey among the Toorkmuns of the Caspian sea. He then proceeded by the way of Isfahan, Bushire, and Bombay to Calcutta, which city he reached early in 1833. His travels which we have now hastily noticed, are among the best of modern times. We have rarely found any thing which we could wish to be different. He had a disposition to be pleased with the countries and people that he saw, which we consider to be an excellent qualification for a traveller. If he had manifested a deeper interest in the moral state of the people, and had detailed more facts bearing on this point, we should have been better satisfied.

Lieutenant Conolly's volumes we shall be compelled to notice still more briefly than those of his brother officer. He left London on the 10th of August, 1829, travelled to Hamburgh, sailed up the Baltic to St. Petersburg, where he was joined by captain Strong of the Bombay military service, and Capt. Willock of the royal navy. They then proceeded to Moscow, crossed the Caucasus to Tiflis, and halted for a time in Tabreez. The original intention of lieutenant Conolly was to accompany captain Strong by the way of Bushire to Bombay, but at Tabreez, he determined to proceed either by the way of Khiva, Bokhara, and Cabool, the route which lieutenant Burnes took in the opposite direction, or through Khorasan and Affghanistan to the Indus. The last route was the one which was actually accomplished. His companion was a gentlemanly native of Hindoostan, named Syud Karaumut Allee, to whose assistance he attributed the successful completion of the journey. On the 6th of March, 1830, they rode from Tabreez, made fourteen marches to Tehran, proceeded to Astrabad, near the southeastern shore

of the Caspian, then a short distance over the Caspian desert towards Khiva and Bokhara, from which course, on account of dangers from the Toorkmuns, and the faithlessness of the guides, they were compelled to return to Astrabad. From that city, they again set out, passed Bostam, Meshid, crossed the mountains to Herat, proceeded through Affghanistan to Candahar, crossed the Indus at Khyrpoor, and at length reached Delhi in safety. We now make a very few extracts. The traveller in the following passage, adverts to the designs of the Russians. A very able writer in Blackwood's Magazine, for September, 1827, has shown, we think, conclusively, that Russia will never be able to march an army across Central Asia to India, without first subduing the intermediate countries. Or in other words she must crush Persia, or Khiva, Bokhara, &c., before she can enter India. The government of those countries, in connection with the nature of the ground, will certainly throw effectual impediments in her way.

“We satisfied ourselves that it would not be difficult for a power stronger than the Toorkmuns to reclaim a considerable portion of this waste inland from the coast. Much of the soil (that especially between the rivers Goorgaun and Attruck) is good, and water is to be had for little labor. The Russians have been long supposed to have an eye upon this quarter, with a view to the invasion of Khiva: there need be little doubt of their wish to extend their power wherever they can, and they have the best possible excuses for carrying their arms among the noxious hordes who occupy the desert eastward of the Caspian; for, though I do not anticipate the entire revolution in the trade of Asia, and ‘the shaking to its very centre the enormous commercial superiority of the dominators of the sea,’ which Moravieff predicts as consequent upon the taking of Khiva by his countrymen; still there can be little doubt, that if the Russians should succeed in establishing their authority at the above-mentioned place, they would gain great commercial and political advantages: and the mere circumstance of some hundreds of their people being in the worst state of slavery there, might induce them to attempt its reduction, (not that I think it would, apart from the consideration of political contingencies). Since the days of Peter the Great, when prince Bekowitch (who was sent with a party in search of the gold dust which was supposed to lie on the banks of the ancient Oxus) was killed, and his skin made into a drum by the Tartars, we do not hear of any direct attempt on the part of the Russians to establish themselves on the eastern coast of the Caspian; but they certainly have cultivated a very good understand-



ing with the Toorkmuns who dwell along that shore, who, being settled, and profiting from their intercourse with the foreigners, have not that jealous hatred of them which their inland brethren entertain for those who they think would deprive them of their much prized liberty ; and, whether directly through these tribes, or through the means of the Persians, I confess it would not greatly astonish me to hear of the Russians causing Meshid-e-Misreaun to be re-occupied, or some other conveniently situated spot near the coast to be inhabited.

“ Moravieff, some years ago, talked sanguinely about marching to capture Khiva, and revolutionize Tartary, with three thousand men : but I do not read that he made any arrangements for communicating with his countrymen even in case of success. He speculates upon several very uncertain aids, and, in my humble opinion, his plan is rather a romantic one. The Toorkmuns being greatly divided among themselves, some of them might be induced to assist the Russians, for interest is a first principle with them ; but they are quite as treacherous as greedy, and though they would perhaps assist the invaders so long as they had the best of it, they would turn upon them in case of a reverse.”—Vol. i. pp. 148—150.

Lieutenant Burnes gives his views in the following manner :

“ From the time of Peter the Great, there has subsisted a continued communication between Bokhara and Russia, and it has been based on the reciprocal advantages of commerce. The land route between the countries was first opened in the reign of that monarch, and, during the last seventy years, the transit has been uninterrupted. In the reign of Alexander, and about the year 1820, the Russians endeavored to cultivate a closer connection, and despatched an embassy to Bokhara. They had failed in the preceding year to open the road between the Caspian and Khiva. It is but fair to believe, that some of the views of this mission were commercial, but they were likewise connected with political ends. The embassy was well received at the capital. A mission was sent in return to St. Petersburg, and several others have since followed it. From that period, the subjects of Russia have ceased to be sold into slavery in Bokhara ; it is supposed that these missions have had reference to the affairs of Khiva, but Russia will require no foreign aid to coerce that chiefship. The Russians have also established a friendly feeling with the chief of Kokan : they have impressed the whole of the Uzbeks with high notions of their power, to the detriment of all other European nations ; but they have yet to eradicate, by their future conduct, other opinions, which have been as universally adopted, that they want truth and honor in their diplomacy. Setting aside

the physical obstacles which present themselves to the Russians making a conquest of Bokhara, the people are generally inimical to them. It is even probable that Bokhara, with all her pretended amity, would succor Khiva, if attacked by the czar. Should these countries ever be subdued from that quarter, it would be found most difficult to retain them, or control the wandering tribes around. Regular troops would be useless, and irregulars could not subdue a race who had no fixed places of abode. It is not, however, to be concealed, that the court of St. Petersburg have long cherished designs in this quarter of Asia.

“The affairs of Khiva have excited considerable attention in the Russian cabinet, which has attempted, without success, to form a connection with it, as well for the advancement of commercial ends, as the suppression of the odious practice of enslaving her subjects. There is great hostility to Russia in the minds of the Khivans, and it would be most dangerous to appear in the character of a Russian in their country; but the Khan is only able to exhibit this hostile feeling from the strength of his position.”—Vol. ii. pp. 379—381, 388.

The following observations may be interesting to future missionaries.

“For my own part, I experienced no ill usage at the hands of the people of Meshid. I daily took my road through the sahn, and walked in all parts of the city; and, if I was occasionally noticed, I never was in the slightest degree insulted. I doubt not that if any fanatic had met me within the sanctuary, he would have taken umbrage at my presumption, and have raised a cry against me; but, on the other hand, I have met men there, who, knowing me, turned aside and pretended not to observe me. Some few, who would have entered into religious discussions, did not press me beyond measure when I declined such argument on the plea of my being a soldier and no moollah; the most judicious reply, I conceive, that a mere traveller can make to such prejudiced disputants; for no one not thoroughly skilled in the metaphors of their language can well hope to give them a just idea of our belief. By imperfect descriptions he would run the risk of making the most sacred things seem ridiculous; and if he gained the advantage in an argument, without opportunity to follow it up, he would but irritate, not convince, his opponent.

“It is to be lamented that the Persians are so far removed from the knowledge of the enlightened Word, for, could it be spread among them, it would at least be rapidly extended—that already excited spirit of inquiry, which now loses itself in infidelity, would lay hold of truth, were it taught the true principles

by which to discern and prove the same. The Mussulmans, as argued Sir W. Jones, are already a sort of heterodox Christians; —they believe much that we do; they have much of our Scripture, and, in their ignorance, sincerely think that we have corrupted the rest. Now, the Koran can no more bear an impartial comparison with the Jewish Testament than the licentious tenets that it inculcates can stand before the purity and charity of the gospel precepts; and our endeavors should be to impart to these people the doctrines of sound reason and logic, and lead them to the comparison: but to convert the natives of Persia by our Scripture, we should give them every incitement to read it, and not only translate from the original, so as to preserve the similarity of idiom which runs through all Eastern languages, but not insist upon a strictly literal translation, when, fully preserving the sense, we can express a sentence more beautifully. Except the Arabs, no people are more susceptible of the beauties of language than are the Persians, and they will not read what is written in a hard style. I humbly conceive that, to obtain a correct translation of the Old Testament, we should get the assistance of a Persian Jew. The descendants of Israel, who live in Iran, retain their own language, and some of their moollahs not only acquire a classical knowledge of Persian but become skilled in Arabic; and one of these would have a heart in the work, which no Mohammedan assistant well can. I think also that we might look to the theological writings of the Mohammedans for a style of translation. During the Mohurrum at Meshid, the lecturers read from an Arabic work passages which appeared greatly to affect the multitude. The book was composed by Hossein's son, Allee Awsut, Zein-ul Aubideen; it is entitled 'Sahifa Sajjadea,'—'The Book of the Adorer,' a name by which Allee Awsut was designated, 'or Sahifa Kâmila,' the full or perfect book. It is written very much in the style of the Psalms of David, consisting of lamentation for sins, adoration of God, and entreaties for his mercy; and doubtless many idioms and expressions might be borrowed from it to suit a translation of our Psalmist's verses."—Vol. i. pp. 333—336.

Herat is thus described by Mr. Frazer.

"Herat, the imperial seat of the descendants of Timour, is situated in a well-watered valley, thirty miles in length and fifteen in breadth, the whole of which is covered with villages and gardens. The former splendor of this capital has for the most part passed away. The present city, according to captain Christie, occupies an area of about four miles, and is surrounded by a lofty mud wall and wet ditch, with draw-bridges and outworks. From the Charsu, a large square in its centre, proceed bazars at right angles to the four respective gates, the principal one being cov-

ered with a vaulted roof, and these on market-days are scarcely passable for the crowd. Among the numerous public buildings the Musjed e Jumah stands conspicuous, with its domes and minarets, once ornamented superbly, but now going to decay, though it still covers, with its reservoirs, courts, and arcades, an area of 800 yards square. The private dwellings are in good order, the population is dense, and the commerce thriving."—Frazer's Hist. pp. 62, 63.

Mr. Elphinstone writes concerning Candahar.

"The ancient castle of Candahar was situated upon a high rocky hill; but Nadir Shah, after taking the fortress, perhaps unwilling to leave so strong a place in the hands of a people in whom he could not confide, destroyed both, and founded upon the contiguous plain a new city, which he called Nadirabad. This, which was completed by Ahmed Shah Dooranee, is now denominated Candahar, and occupied, in the time of Foster, a square of about three miles in compass, surrounded by an ordinary fortification. It was then populous and flourishing; and, as it lies in the route which directly connects India with Persia, it is still an important *entrepôt*. The bazar is well filled, and many rich Hindoo merchants are found there, who occupy an extensive range of shops filled with valuable merchandize."—Frazer's Hist. p. 323.

That our readers may better understand the preceding quotations, we subjoin a brief account of various countries through or near which the enterprising travellers passed.

*The Punjab.* This country is terminated on the north by the Himilaya mountains; westward by the Indus or Sinde, east and south by the river Sutlege, with four kindred streams, that water the country, and affix to it the name of Punjab. It is now governed by a very enlightened prince, named Maharaja Runjeet Sing, who has adopted many of the institutions of Europe. The population is about 3,500,000, of whom 50,000 are Seiks. The city of Lahore is the capital, in 31° 34' north latitude.

*Affghanistan.* This country is bounded on the north by the crests of the Himilaya or Koosh mountains, on the east by the rivers Indus and Jelum; on the south by the Salt Range mountains and Jeweestan or Cutch Gundava; and on the west by the Salt Desert, Heermund, the Paropamisan mountains, and the country of the Hazaras. It is now divided into several chiefships. 1. Peshawur, governed by



Sirdar Sooltan Mohammed Khan, with a population of 50,000, and an army of 3,000. 2. Cabool, governed since 1826 by Dost Mohammed Khan, a chief of excellent character, with 11,000 troops, eighteen lacs of rupees for revenue. 3. Western Affghanistan, including the chiefships of Herat and Candahar, the former ruled by Kamran, and the latter by Shere Dil Khan. Herat is now dependent on Persia.

*Koondooz.* This territory lies between Cabool and Bokhara, north of Hindoo Koosh, south of the Oxus, and east of Balkh. It is under the government of a chief of the Uzbek family named Moorad Beg. His united forces amount to about 20,000 horse, and six pieces of artillery.

*Bokhara.* Situated between the richest regions of Europe and Asia, Bokhara becomes the resting place of the merchant and the traveller, and the centre of an extensive commerce. The military force of Bokhara is levied from the different districts of the kingdom, and has no discipline. It consists of 20,000 horse, 4,000 infantry, and forty-one field-pieces. The connection of Bokhara with China, Cabool, and Tartary is friendly. The entire country is comprised between the parallels of  $36^{\circ}$  and  $45^{\circ}$  north latitude, and  $61^{\circ}$  and  $67^{\circ}$  east longitude. A very small portion of this extensive tract is peopled. The political divisions of the kingdom are nine. The climate is salubrious and pleasant. It is dry, and in the winter very cold. It has an elevation of about 1,200 feet above the sea. There is a constant serenity in the atmosphere, and a clearness in the sky. The heavens are a bright azure blue, generally without a cloud. At night, the milky way shines gloriously in the firmament. There is also a never ceasing display of the most brilliant meteors. It is a noble country for astronomical science, and great must have been the advantages enjoyed by the observatory at Samarcand. Gold is found in considerable quantities in the Oxus. There are no large towns in the kingdom but Bokhara. Kurshee, Samarcand, and Balkh are but provincial towns.

*Budukhshan.* This district lies east of Koondooz, and is sometimes called Fyzabad. It is now almost without inhabitants, having been overrun by a chief of Koondooz about thirteen years since. It has acquired great celebrity for its ruby mines. The rubies are said to be imbedded

in limestone. North of Koondooz and Budukhshan, and beyond the Oxus, are the small hill states of Hissar, Koolab, Durwaz, Shooguan, and Wukhan, all mountainous districts. The high plain of Pamere lies between Budukhshan and Yarkund, and is inhabited by an erratic race, the Kirgizees. The tract that lies beyond the Beloot mountains and Budukhshan, and between it and Cashmere is filled up by the cantons of Chitral, Gilgit, Iskardo, and Gungoot, all which go under the general name of Kaushgar. On the south east corner of Budukhshan, are that extraordinary people the Siahposh Kaffirs, are blackvested infidels, so called by the Mohammedans from their wearing black goat-skin dresses.

*Yarkund.* This with the adjacent province Cashgar, formed the principality of a Mohammedan ruler, called Khoju of Cashgar. About eighty years ago the Chinese took possession of the government. There are about 5,000 Chinese in the garrisons. An express may be sent to Peking in fifteen days.

*Kokan* is the paternal kingdom of Baber, and is much smaller than Bokhara. It is the ancient Ferghana, and is situated on the Sir or Jaxartes.

*Toorkmania* is the country lying south of the Oxus or Toorkistan, stretching from Balkh to the shores of the Caspian, and filling up the space between that sea and the Aral. It is generally a flat and sandy desert but scantily supplied with water. The total number of families of the Toorkmun race has been rated at 140,000.

*Khiva*, or *Orgunje*. This region is formed by the Oxus before falling into the Aral. It is referred to in Arrian under the name of Chorasmii. It lies about 200 miles north west of Bokhara. The inhabited part is 200 miles from north to south, and 100 from east to west. It is a fertile principality, surrounded on all sides by the desert. Ulla Kholi, is the present Khan of Khiva.

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## ARTICLE X.

## TRUE GROUNDS OF MORAL REFORM.

BEFORE presenting our views directly upon the subject which we have placed at the head of this article, we would offer a few remarks, by way of introduction, upon what we suppose constitutes a marked feature of the present age, viz : A spirit of *ultraism*.

This is indeed a period of benevolence, of daring enterprise, of successful and unsuccessful experiment, of thought followed by speedy action ; in a word, it is an age of liberty of mind and body. The whole world seems somewhat like a giant whose limbs have been confined one by one, while he lay in unconscious sleep, from which he has gradually awaked to a consciousness of his fetters and of his strength. Finding, as he makes one effort after another to relieve himself, that his efforts succeed and his chains fall off, he is preparing to stand up in his full strength and perfect freedom. But this is the moment of danger. There are men—they are honest, and they are not a few—who are standing round this giant, and not satisfied to see one limb after another emancipated and tested, they would fain gather round each limb at once, and force asunder the cords which bind them, alike regardless of the hazard they incur of striking a fatal blow at the very limb they intend to extricate ; or of planting the giant upon his feet before they have measured his strength, or prepared themselves to follow in his train, rather than to fall before him as he moves. Such are the men whom we call *ultra men*. Some of them cluster round his head and threaten his life,—these are nullifiers. Others loosen the tie that confines his throbbing heart so as to send the blood with its full force, through the yet compressed arteries,—these are immediate emancipationists. Some aim a blow at the right arm and endanger the strength of the whole system,—these are called experiment-men. But round the giant's legs are gathered men of differing views and wishes, the good and the bad, the honest and dishonest, like the place where extremes meet, here vice and virtue unite their efforts. The one class meaning

that he shall never rise upon his feet, the other too impatient to wait and give him time. These last two are the modern infidels and over-heated moral reformists. It is fearful to see the latter of these two, (as it were unconsciously,) teaching the former by their rash conduct how to maim and endanger these valuable limbs. Every blow, instead of waking a thrill of joy in the heart of the prudent, honest observer, calls forth a deep sigh at the threatened danger.

Let us not be misunderstood. We do not intend on this occasion to express an opinion of the merits of *State rights*, *anti-slavery principles*, or *Jacksonism*, but only to illustrate, by these examples, the position, that ultraism is too much in vogue at the present day, inasmuch as these remarks, it will be perceived, have no reference to the moderate men or measures of either of these parties. This principle of ultraism may be easily and satisfactorily explained, and its operation upon the mind shown to be similar to the effect produced upon the whole body by a use of part of the members of the body. If, for example, one limb of the body is exercised to the neglect of the others, it will become disproportionate to the rest in size and strength; so if one object occupies the mind exclusively or nearly so, or is looked upon as paramount to every other, it will of course assume an undue relative importance in our estimation. Let the object be as good as possible;—Be it music, or metaphysics, or any branch of science or literature, or any thing else; if the whole soul is wrapped up in either alone, the person so absorbed is not competent to form a just estimate of other subjects, or to give a correct idea of the relative value of his favorite pursuit.

The same is true of what is evil. If a man should wish to remove a defect from a building, and should become so intent upon his purpose as to allow his mind to dwell only upon the hideousness and inaptitude of the defective part—he might attempt himself, or compel those under his influence, to proceed at once to its removal, without regard to the safety of the building; whereas the same object might be attained without hazard, if he would have patience to prop up the walls, and prepare the whole building for the loss of the defective part. So of politics, of morals, of vices. A man becomes disgusted with an administration of government,—give him the reins and he will go to the opposite



extreme. Another sees the evils of secret societies—he is honestly impressed with their dangerous tendency—he follows out in his imagination the evils which *must*, and then which *may* result from them; he holds up the sketch before his mind, he dwells upon it, it grows in importance, every thing else is measured by its connection with this, till at last there can be no evil so great as the one he deploras, no sacrifice too great to accomplish its removal, no object so much to be desired as freedom from its power;—Such a man we call *ultra*; his influence is nearly lost to society, perhaps worse than lost for any good purpose.

We are of opinion that the cause of *moral reform* has been essentially injured and retarded by the ill-judged zeal and management of its advocates, and that a noble and well deserving subject is now suffering under the operation of this principle of ultraism. We will explain in what way.

*Lewdness* is doubtless a great sin, as well as a great curse to the community. This is admitted, but what follows? A man turns his thoughts to this subject, becomes impressed with the evil effects which result from it—finds, on inquiry, that the evil is extensive—he reads, thinks, talks, writes about it; others hear what he says, and read what he writes, some of this number begin to think as he does, and their feelings become enlisted and interested to wake up the public mind; and what is the result? Why they seem to forget that there are any other crimes, and so they think only about this; they seem to forget that there are any novitiates in this vice, and so they cite examples by which such may be taught how to become practised in all the stratagems of old adepts. They seem to forget that there are others who have never turned astray from the path of virtue, and so they teach them what are *the baits* which have lured others on, and what pleasure they anticipated, and how they set themselves successfully at work to obtain it. They seem to forget that there are a large body of the community who have not turned their thoughts to this subject as much as they have, and so they brand all who do not think and act with them as indifferent to the welfare of mankind. In a word, they seem to forget that there is a large class of young people who would never learn till their minds were matured and principles formed, what is the groundwork of atheism and infidelity, viz. unbridled lust; and what are the sweets of licentious indulgence, and how

easily they may be obtained, and how the facts may be concealed ; and so they place this information in the hands of wives and daughters, husbands and brothers, every where, and call down the vengeance of Heaven on all who exclude them from their families as if they were shutting them out from its blessed light.

The natural tendency of adopting such a course of proceeding is to fill the minds of the moderate and prudent with prejudice and distrust. We propose, therefore, to endeavor to remove existing misapprehensions upon this subject, by showing,

I. The *dangers* to which we are exposed.

II. The *defects* in the efforts that are making to reform society.

III. The *course* which prudence and conscience dictate as the one to be adopted.

I. Our *danger*.—This appears from considering the fact that lewdness does exist—it is a great sin, a violation of the law of God and of the laws of our own constitution—the practice of it directly enervates the mind and body, and hence has an obvious tendency to enfeeble the race ;—there is probably no sin which more certainly tends to harden the mind against moral susceptibility and to induce other sins, as intemperance, reckless extravagance, and fraud upon employers ; there is none which can be practiced with so much secrecy ; and if conscience is uneasy, her voice is hushed by the promise of future amendment and purity of life. The state of society also is such that it is very difficult to speak or write upon this vice, with the same plainness and directness of application which is sanctioned in speaking upon other vices. Again, young men in cities are peculiarly exposed to this vice, and often they are, as it were, bound to it by an iron chain, before their friends are aware of it. And there is much reason to believe that the victims of this vice are increasing in our cities, where young men are allowed to pass their evenings as they please, free from parental observation and restraint. The whole support of *atheism* is given to this sin (under the misnomer of freedom), as proclaimed by its male and female champions. The increased importation and circulation of lascivious pictures and other articles, has a direct tendency to multiply the number of the slaves to this vice.

II. The *defects* in present efforts.—It is no desirable office to sit in judgment upon the conduct of those who are well wishers to society ; but, as we have already said, those who turn their thoughts to one object, are very apt to form an incorrect estimate of its importance—or if they escape this danger, they fall into another, of failing to consider, whether the course they pursue, in attempting to promote a good object or remove an existing evil, is likely to benefit or injure the community on the whole. Now those persons who press forward without regard to this inquiry, are the ones whom we have designated as the ultras of our day ; and if we presume to censure their conduct, it will be with perfect charity for their motives, and with a full conviction that by so doing we are rendering a service to the person who might be injured, or at least would fail to receive benefit from their efforts.

1. Fastidiousness and delicacy are not to be spoken of as reproachful terms, but are always to be regarded and respected. In shunning Scylla, we may run against Charybdis, —society owes much of its present security to checks and balances wisely applied to its condition and requirements—if we hastily remove these we may not be able to foresee or control the result. And in this case we are fearful that the evil effects which would be produced by the banishment of that delicacy of sentiment which now prevails, would far outweigh the good which might result from a free interchange of opinion between all classes and both sexes, as to the vice of which we speak ;—we believe that if the proposed remedy were generally adopted and applied, it would only heighten the disease. We are no advocates for prudery or false delicacy—but we think that genuine delicacy, and even fastidiousness in the sense in which it is sometimes used by these reformers, is a safe barrier which ought to be maintained.

The apostle says that we are to have no fellowship with the works of darkness, but rather *reprove them*—but he does not surely mean by *reproving*, that we are to speak freely of the nature of their offence, and set it forth in detail, for he adds in the next sentence, as if to guard this very point, “For it is a *shame* even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret,”—it seems then there is conduct to be condemned, which delicacy will not permit us to describe particularly, the Bible being judge.

2. We wholly disapprove of lessons in vice. We are suf-

ficiently inclined to go astray, without being decoyed by the experience of the artful and practised in the ways of sin. What is it, we ask, that constitutes the difference in the discipline of our prisons at the present day, from what it recently was, but a regard to our position? When the youth in vice was left to the teachings of the aged and expert villain, was it strange that the prison produced no reformatations? And if youth who are ignorant of the ways of seduction, and would even blush to mention its name, are to be furnished (yes, sons and daughters both) with high wrought details and well told descriptions of this awful crime, week after week, will they not first become interested to read of it—next, callous to its enormity—and soon, perhaps, prepared to be the easy victims of those who are well skilled in the arts of seduction? We see not that any possible good can result from rendering the minds of the pure and uncorrupted, familiar with the stratagems of the destroyers of peace and innocence, and we are quite sure that there is much hazard in making the experiment. The attempt, therefore, to reform public morals by enlightening the public mind as to the details of vice and the artful modes taken for its accomplishment, is full of danger. The press to be safe must be pure, and we are neither to suppose that a good end justifies pernicious means being employed for its attainment, nor that good motives and honest intentions justify a resort to dangerous weapons. The more respectable the source from which details of licentiousness are furnished, the more risk is incurred, because the unsuspecting are taken unawares. The documents come into our families, like wolves in sheep's clothing—the only cover for those who send them is, that they think they will act like sheep and not like wolves amongst the lambs.

3. We do not think it prudent to make extravagant statements of the increase of this vice. The truth ought to be stated, and the whole truth (as far as extent is concerned), but it can only be known to be truth so far as it is sustained by ascertained facts. The knowledge of the real extent is necessary to rouse up the mind of the virtuous portion of the community to efficient action, but exaggeration discourages effort to do good, while it emboldens those who love to do evil. It is not the way to get a mountain levelled, to convince those who are about attempting the work, that it is twice as large as it appears to be.

4. We believe that an error is committed on this subject



in common with many others, which has a tendency to brace up the public mind in the attitude of defence, if not defiance, viz. that of *isolating* the subject. Two evils result from this. Those who are exclusively engaged in investigating this vice, attach an inordinate importance to it, by keeping all other vices out of their sight, and as a necessary consequence their judgment is not as cool and sound, as if it partook more of a comparative character. This view we have already dwelt upon under the head of ultraism. But, if the subject could be presented as well by itself, in as unexceptionable a manner and separated from such descriptions as are fitted to make apt scholars in vice, yet after all, those who are to be benefited by these efforts will not be as likely to examine from week to week, a work exclusively devoted to a subject which does not interest them, as they would to read a paragraph once a week in a periodical which treated of a variety of topics. No one will examine regularly the contents of any periodical which is confined to one object, unless his sympathies and feelings are previously enlisted in its favor. But many men will read what comes in their way incidentally, upon subjects in which they are not favorably interested—perhaps have even imbibed some prejudice against them. We think, then, that it is a mistaken idea that the work of moral reform is to be advanced by the devotion of a periodical entirely to this subject, even admitting that there is nothing contained in the periodical, which is in the least degree pernicious to society.

5. We do not believe that it is judicious to adopt *pledges*, with reference to a prevention or cure of this evil, for the following reasons.

The subject is not one adapted to pledges. It is not like the temperance question, for there has all along been an honest difference of opinion among some individuals as to the expediency or necessity of total abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquors—and the only feasible way of embodying the opinion of the mass of the community in favor of the abstinence plan, was to induce the advocates of this principle to avow it openly;—but who ever thought of checking the alarming increase of suicide, by proposing a pledge to the living? or to stay rebellion and riot by a pledge from peaceable citizens? So neither would we advocate a pledge against *lewdness*. Besides which there is an indelicacy in the very expression of this pledge which we would avoid;

and we would desire that such a public sentiment should exist, as that an individual would feel himself insulted to be requested to sign a promise to refrain from this sin, as much as if he were desired to sign an obligation that he would not take the life of his best friend.

Inasmuch as this is a secret vice, in its commission, there might be frequent violations of pledges without the fact being known, and hence a person might be constrained by a regard for public opinion to sign a pledge, and yet violate it in secret, thinking that he should not be detected, thus committing one sin to cover another.

III. The *course* to be adopted and pursued. We cannot but feel some hesitancy in expressing our opinion upon this part of the subject, inasmuch as having objected to the plan pursued by others, we lay ourselves open to severe criticism as to any measures which we may propose; but the importance of the interests involved, justify any responsibility which we may incur in an honest expression of opinion. Much time and effort are often thrown away for the want of definiteness and plan. Much more good might be accomplished with the present amount of talent and labor, if philanthropists could only agree as to what is desirable to be done, and how it may most probably be effected, thus bending their united energies to one simultaneous effort. What then are the *points* to be aimed at? The first thing to be secured, is a *correct public sentiment*. The mere fact that so much delicacy and refinement exists in the community as to put a check upon the tongue and the press in their efforts to give utterance to any thoughts upon those subjects of which the apostle said "that it was a shame to speak," shows that the only thing needed is to enlighten and brace up this sentiment for increased action. Let the public mind then, be judiciously informed upon this subject, and urged on in the channel in which it now moves. Pour in tributaries, if you please, to make the stream more swift and powerful—but be careful that you do not break down the banks which give the stream its present force and direction.

The second thing to be effected is, to visit transgression on the head of the offender. The custom which prevails to such an extent of fastening stigma and indelible disgrace on the female who divests herself of her pure white robe of innocence, and which on the other hand scarcely frowns upon him who tempts her to barter it away and almost

smiles with indifference on the man who prevents her from every attempt to redeck herself in purity, is a barbarous custom—unworthy of civilization, but especially of Christianity.

The one who steals her robe, and the one who will not leave her the opportunity to put it on again, should be branded with shame, and excluded alike with her from pure society. Yes, libertines and harlots should be classed together and dealt with alike. The time must come when young men will feel as indignant at seeing one of their sex of loose morals associate on terms of friendship with their sisters and cousins, as the same sisters and cousins would feel at seeing them pay their addresses to a harlot. On the one hand we see the profligate young man fawned upon, caressed and courted, by the first society, and on the other we see him who has openly given himself up to a prostitute, abandoned by all his friends. Wherein lies the difference in these two cases? Only in this. In one case the abandoned female is kept out of view, in the other she is brought to light; but the two young men are equally culpable in the sight of Heaven. These things ought not so to be, and there will be no radical reform till the conduct of the virtuous is changed in this particular.

The third and principal thing to be attempted is, to keep the pure from taint. Here there is a great demand for prudence, decision and intelligence on the part of those who make the effort. The first two points which we have stated will do much towards establishing the third. If we can even make public sentiment as efficient as it is correct, and can bring its rays to a focus upon the head of every known transgressor of either sex, we shall do much towards holding back those who have not yet passed the bounds of purity. But there are a few things in addition to these, to be observed. Proper instruction and admonition must be given, frequently by ministers from the pulpit, and by parents at home, and occasionally by periodicals. All unchaste exhibitions of painting and statuary should be suppressed; they only feed the imagination with impure materials, and make it the willing handmaid to induce open violations of chastity. Those who are the friends of morality must be convinced that there is a right and a wrong in this matter, and because some have acted with indiscretion, they cannot be excused for not acting at all. They must come out and

embody themselves, and having selected a prudent and feasible path, they must march steadily forward in it. It is a melancholy fact that the public interests often suffer most severely at the hands of their professed friends ; on the one hand, by blind zeal and indiscretion, and on the other by hesitancy and indifference. Classics and all books which are placed in the hands of the young should be strictly chaste. If otherwise, they instruct in vice, and in fact are the constant tempters of innocence. There is too much apathy upon this point. Parents and instructors are not sufficiently awake to its immense importance. It becomes *young men* to act in this matter ; as a body, they have great interests at stake, and their influence will be more efficient and salutary upon one another, than any foreign influence which can be brought to bear upon them.

There is no vice, to which young men coming from the country to the city are exposed, of a more ruinous tendency, both to soul and body, none to which they can be enticed so secretly, none to which they are often drawn in so unwittingly. Then it becomes young men to adopt measures by which the evils attendant upon this vice may be held up to view in their true light, plainly, fully, and continually, so that they may be forewarned of their danger, may have a right apprehension of its extent, and may learn where only safety lies, viz. In purity of thought, purity of action—in fine, in total abstinence from impurity of every name.

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## ARTICLE XI.

## CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia; addressed to the Count de Montalivet, Peer of France, Minister of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs. By Victor Cousin, Peer of France, Professor of Philosophy, &c. Translated by Sarah Austin. London: Effingham Wilson. 1834. pp. 333.*

M. COUSIN visited Prussia, by order of the French government in June and July, 1831. He had two interviews with the baron Von Altenstein, minister of public instruction at Berlin, during which they went thoroughly and at great length into the highest and most delicate parts of the subject. For details, reference was had to Mr. Schulze, a confidential counsellor, who gave to M. Cousin every possible information. The interior of this department of public business, and the most secret workings of the administration were laid open. In the morning, Mr. Schulze showed M. Cousin the laws, statutes and rules of the various establishments for public instruction. In the afternoon, he conducted him to those establishments, so that he could verify the ministerial assertions by his own observations. The report is framed on information derived from more than a hundred printed documents, as well as from personal inspection. It is divided into four sections—general organization of public instruction,—primary instruction,—instruction of the second degree or gymnasias,—higher instruction or universities. The report is applicable to Prussia, Saxony, Weimar, and the city of Frankfort. Mrs. Austin has translated only that portion which relates to primary instruction.

According to the latest census, the population of Prussia is 12,726,823. Out of this population it was estimated at the close of 1831, that there were 4,767,072 children of from one day to fourteen years old. In Prussia, the age fixed by law for going to school is from seven to fourteen inclusive. It is a rule of statistics that, calculating the relative mortality of the several ages, out of a hundred children of from one day to fourteen years, those between seven and fourteen form three sevenths, which gives, out of every hundred, about forty-three of age to go to school, and consequently, in Prussia, 2,043,030 children of the 4,767,072 composing the total population of children from a day to fourteen years old. Now, the actual number of children who, according

to the accurate calculation of the attendance-lists, frequented the public primary schools in 1831, was 2,021,421. The difference between the real and the normal number, 21,609 is accounted for from the fact that the private schools are not included in the enumeration; that no account is taken of the children educated at home, which would include a greater part of the children of the higher classes; and further, that the boys belonging to the lower classes of the gymnasia, many of whom are under fourteen years of age, are not included.

A most important point is the relative proportions of the sexes in the sum total of children receiving primary instruction. Out of 2,021,421 children, 977,057 were girls. The education of girls, being in its nature more domestic, the number of children of the female sex brought up under the care of their mothers is of necessity greater than that of boys.

The province of Saxony exhibits a proportion of 54,515 children going to the public schools, in every 100,000, between the ages of one day and fourteen years. As might be expected, the Polish province of Posen is least advanced. Berlin shares the fate of all large cities, where a thoroughly exact control is peculiarly difficult, and where the law cannot be so rigorously enforced. Primary instruction is divided into two degrees; the one including those elementary kinds or branches of knowledge of which no human being can be devoid without extreme danger to himself and to society; the other more elevated, and adapted to that portion of the people who stand in need of an education a little more enlarged and liberal. The first degree comprehends the schools properly called *elementary*; the second the *burgher*, because they are intended for that portion of the population which in Germany is still called *bürgerschaft*, citizens. They are also called *middle or intermediate*, from their position between the elementary schools and the gymnasia. Of the 22,612 primary schools, 21,789 are elementary, and 823 middle or burgher schools. It is reckoned on an average that there are in an elementary school of boys and girls (generally occupying a distinct part of the same room) 88 children; in a middle school of boys 118 children; in a middle school of girls 136. In elementary schools there is usually but one master, whereas in middle schools there are two, three, and often more, masters and mistresses. In the elementary schools, the number of regular masters is 22,211, of mistresses but 694. M. Cousin never found a single public school in Prussia under the management of a woman. In villages, the female assistant is usually the school-master's wife or daughter.

There are two sorts of establishments for training school-teachers. 1. The small normal schools, which are in great number and very useful. 2. The large primary normal schools, where the course of study extends over two or three years, and

each of which contains from 40 to 100 pupils. Of the latter, in 1831, there were 33 in full operation, which furnish almost all the masters of the public schools, elementary and intermediate, in the kingdom. The sum total of the expenditure of these 33 schools in 1831, was £16,583, of which government paid £13,260.

The organization to which this remarkable success is to be attributed is owing principally to the following considerations. 1. The law which constrains parents, guardians, and master-manufacturers or artisans to show, under penalties more or less severe, that the children under their care receive the benefit of instruction, either public or private; on the principle that the giving of the degree of instruction necessary to the knowledge and practice of our duties is itself the highest duty, and an obligation to society quite as strict as that of military service for the common defence. 2. The imposing of an obligation on the clergy to admit to the communion table no young persons who could not prove that they had passed, or were passing, the requisite time at school; an obligation at once civil and ecclesiastical, which interests the church in the school, and binds the school to the church by those strict ties which every statesman and philosopher may do well to strengthen. 3. The institution of public schools as the fulfilment of a public duty. There is no stability, no permanent future, for the instruction of the people but in schools maintained at the public charge. 4. The division of the charge of the schools among the parents, who, if they can, are obliged to pay something; the parish, which is bound to assess itself a school rate; the department or province, which have funds for this purpose; and the government, which assists in the last resort; so that the charge lights on everybody and oppresses nobody. 5. The proportional participation of the householders and the parish, of the department and the province, of the church and the state, in the superintendence and management of the schools.

2.—*History of the Israelites from the Death of Joseph to the Death of Moses.* By Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D., Author of the *History of the Patriarchs*.

THIS volume contains a history of the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, and of the events which befel them during their continuance for forty years in the wilderness. It might not improperly have been called, a history of the life and times of Moses. It commences with his birth, and, in all the events which it records, he acts a most conspicuous part. Such were the circumstances attending his birth, the trials and persecutions of the Hebrew nation at that period, and for eighty years after; the romantic events of his infancy, childhood and youth; and the vicissitudes through which he passed before he became the

leader of his nation, that a writer of fiction would scarcely dare to hazard incidents so wonderful, lest he should seem to have disregarded the laws of probability. But remarkable as were the first eighty years of his life, they were succeeded by forty years still more remarkable, on account of the variety, and the stupendous nature of the miracles, which he was daily called to witness.

In reference to all these events, Moses is his own biographer, and the historian of his own times. A few facts are scattered here and there in other parts of the Scriptures, such as were either handed down by tradition, or revealed by the Spirit of God to subsequent prophets; and a few also, of doubtful character, are recorded by the uninspired historian of the Hebrew nation. The facts, therefore, on which must rest the history of the Israelites in the days of Moses, lie within a narrow compass; but in regard to the sources from which illustrations of this period may be derived, the case is widely different. All the subsequent books of scripture, the various uninspired writings of the Jews, some of the works of the fathers of the church, many of the ancient Greek and Roman classics, and the whole literature of western and perhaps of eastern Asia, may be made to pour their united light upon the history, customs, and laws, which are recorded by the Hebrew lawgiver and historian.

It is obvious, therefore, that upon the basis of the same facts, a great variety of works, of a widely different character, may be constructed, according to the genius and purpose of the writer. One of the most obvious, and perhaps not the least useful of these works, would be a concise history of this period, derived entirely from the Scriptures, and digested into a connected narrative, after the model of the Greek and Roman historians. Such a history, expressed in modern language, and referring for every important fact to scripture authority, would greatly aid the common reader of the Pentateuch in forming clear notions of its chronology, and consequently of the actual succession of events.

Another work, of a very different, but not less useful character, would exhibit the nature of those institutions which existed among the Israelites, whether introduced by Moses, or previously existing among the Hebrews, or in other oriental nations. Such was the object of Michaelis and Jahn, and of many other of the biblical writers of Germany, and such, in our own country, in an eminent degree is the purpose of many of the writings of professors Stuart and Robinson.

Neither of these plans is precisely that of the work now before us. The design of its author appears to have been, to form a narrative of the events connected with the life of Moses, expressed, as nearly as possible, in the language of Scripture. A few observations only are interspersed, and these are generally for the purpose of connecting the several members of the narra-



tive, though sometimes they serve as a commentary upon it. Explanatory remarks, however, are few, and we generally look to this work in vain for a solution of any of the thousand interesting questions which a perusal of the Pentateuch must suggest. Such explanations seem not, indeed, to have entered, to any great extent, into the plan of the work, and in this respect we cannot but wish that the plan had been different; that the public might have been benefited in a higher degree by the treasures of knowledge which exist in the mind of its author.

Dr. Alexander concludes that the book of Genesis was not written while Moses was a shepherd in the land of Midian. One reason for this conclusion is, that "it is not certain that alphabetical writing had been then discovered." To this it may be replied, that neither is it certain that the book of Genesis was originally written in alphabetical characters. The second reason for this opinion is, that Moses had leisure enough to have written it during his long journey with the Israelites. That he wrote other books during this journey is indeed certain; but when we consider his multifarious employments, we can hardly feel that his journey was a season of literary leisure.

At page 70 it is stated, that "three months had elapsed from the time of their departure from Egypt," when the Israelites entered the wilderness of Sinai. They left Egypt on the 15th day of the month Nisan, and continued their journey during the remainder of that month, and the whole of the month following, and on the first day of the third month,\* that is forty-five days, or one and a half months after their departure, they entered the wilderness of Sinai. On the 15th day, or day of pentecost, they are supposed to have received the law.

It is said, page 93, that "the earliest kind of sacrifice, of which we have any account, was the burnt offering." The first sacrifices of which we read, though probably not in reality the first, were those offered by Cain and Abel, when "Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord, and Abel also brought of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof." Whether these were offered as burnt offerings or not we are not informed.

3.—*Narrative of an Expedition through the Upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake, the actual source of this river; embracing an Exploratory Trip through the St. Croix and Burntwood or Brulé rivers, in 1832. By Henry R. Schoolcraft.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 1834. pp. 307.

IN our last number, we noticed the narrative of Lieut. Allen, who accompanied the expedition of Mr. Schoolcraft. We have

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\* Exodus xix. 1.

now Mr. S.'s journal in full, with many accompanying documents and reports. Immediately after the acquisition of Louisiana, the American government sent an officer, with a suitable body of men, to determine the true source of the Mississippi. Lieut. Pike, who was selected for this service, did not set out early enough in the season to accomplish this object. Winter overtook him in reaching the junction of the de Corbeau. With a small detachment, on snow shoes, he proceeded to Sandy lake, and Leech Lake, and collected the geographical data, which are published in his journal. In May, 1820, governor Cass, with a party of thirty-eight men, left Detroit, proceeded to the falls of St. Mary, went through the picturesque basins of lake Superior, and on the 17th of July, reached the Mississippi. The expedition proceeded about fifty miles above lake Winnipeg, to a sheet of water, since found to be the largest expansion of the river, now called Cass lake. From the best information which could be obtained, the Mississippi was represented to have its origin in a lake called *La Biche*, supposed to be sixty miles from Cass lake, in a north-west direction. Early in 1832, the plan of visiting the source of the Mississippi was resumed. An expedition was accordingly organized, consisting of thirty persons, including an officer of the army with ten men, a surgeon and geologist, and the Rev. W. T. Boutwell, a missionary. The expedition left St. Mary's on the 7th of June, 1832. At Magdalen island, in lake Superior, the La Point of the traders, the party were introduced to Mr. and Mrs. Hall, missionaries, who, with Mr. Ayer, had proceeded to this place in 1831, to establish a mission among the Chippewas. "The mission," says Mr. Schoolcraft, "had encountered no unforeseen obstacles in its first efforts. It has since been enlarged in its means and the number of its laborers, and promises to exert a happy influence in the region." The expedition spent about ten days on the route between lake Superior and the Mississippi, 150 miles. On the 13th of July, after encountering many fatigues, they reached the source of the river in the Itasca lake. This lake, the *La Biche* of the French, is in every respect a beautiful sheet of water, seven or eight miles in extent, lying among hills of diluvial formation, surmounted with pines, which fringe the distant horizon, and form an agreeable contrast with the greener foliage of its immediate shores. It has a single island, on which were the bones of fish, tortoise, and other remnants of Indian camp-fires. The outlet of the lake is ten or twelve feet broad, with an apparent depth of twelve to eighteen inches. The southern prolongation, or bay, receives a brook. The discharge of water appears to be copious compared to its inlet. The height of the lake may be estimated to be about 1,500 feet above the Atlantic. The length of the Mississippi is probably about 3,160 miles. The general course of the river above Cass lake is *south-west*, not north-west, as has been hereto-

fore supposed. The highest northern latitude attained by the Mississippi is about  $48^{\circ}$ . The latitude of its source is  $47^{\circ} 16'$ . Both the forks of this stream being out of the usual route of the fur trade furnishes, perhaps, the best reason why its actual sources have remained so long undiscovered. An area at the head of the island was cleared of trees, and a small flag was hoisted on its staff. The expedition immediately returned to Detroit. It is very gratifying to add, that no Sabbath was employed in travelling. It was laid down as a principle, to rest on that day, wherever it overtook them, on land or water. This time was partly taken up in devotional exercises. It also furnished opportunity to the surgeon to heal the bruises of the men; so that the week's labor was commenced with renewed zest. It was found that an equal space had been travelled in less time than had ever been known before. The whole journey was accomplished from beginning to end without the use of ardent spirits of any kind. This may account for the fact, that no sickness was experienced on the journey. It is pleasant to state, in this connection, that an act was passed by congress on the 9th of July, 1832, which contains the provision, "that no ardent spirits shall hereafter be introduced, under any pretence, into the Indian country." The enforcement of this act has been rigidly enjoined, and it is in the process of successful execution.

Accompanying the narrative, are Dr. Houghton's report on vaccination, statistical tables of the Indian population, report on the political state of the Indians on the Upper Mississippi, Letter on the Sauk disturbances, abstract of some lectures of Mr. Schoolcraft on the Chippewa language, list of shells, localities of minerals and plants observed on the expedition, report of Dr. Houghton on the copper of lake Superior, &c.

4.—*Remarks on the Classical Education of Boys. By a Teacher.*  
Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co. 1834. pp. 119.

THE prominent faults in the present system of education, in the opinion of the author, are the following—the results are not at all in proportion to the time spent, (a proposition which hardly states a fault, but the consequence of faults)—the great length of time employed in the acquisition of a small amount of Latin and Greek, a source of misery both to the pupil and instructor—the unpleasant feelings which exist between the child and the master, awe on one part, and dignity on the other—the want of generality in the present system of education, heathen mythology, antiquities, and classic history not being taught in connection with Latin and Greek,—and finally, the instructor undertakes to teach too many children. As a remedy for some of these faults, the author proposes to revive the old method of studying the languages recommended by Bacon, Locke, and Erasmus—that

they be learned as spoken tongues. This method is supposed to be not only a more ready way than that of learning to read a language, but much more agreeable to a child, because it assures him of his daily progress. At the same time, lectures, or other means should be adopted to interest the mind of the child in history, mythology, and classic antiquities. On the latter subject the illustrations of Flaxman are recommended in a protracted note with great earnestness. Some suggestions on geography, arithmetic, reading, declamation, accomplishments, profession of a teacher, and the conduct and discipline of a school, conclude the volume. Most of the remarks of the author strike us as particularly seasonable. What is said on the subject of gymnastics, as practiced in the institution of Col. Amoros, at Paris, seems to us rather inapplicable to the schools of this country. Neither do we believe that dancing as an amusement or exercise will ever become general. Indeed, the whole subject of *physical* education is encompassed with difficulties. It is easy to recommend a particular course, but the practical difficulties of introducing a system, or a particular mode of exercise, into the schools of the city and country, of the poor and rich, appear to us well nigh insurmountable.

Is there not want of discrimination in the following query touching mental philosophy; "And who can read the solemn nonsense of many of the German writers, without believing either that mental philosophy is beyond the reach of ordinary minds, or as too absurd to be worthy of attention?" Would a youthful student become much wiser in reading Locke and his followers? On the whole, however, we recommend the volume as one of the most sensible which we have ever read on the subject. It will do good wherever and by whomsoever perused, for who is not interested in some form or other with schools?

5.—*Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia, in furtherance of the Objects of the Church Missionary Society. By the Rev. Samuel Gobat, one of the Society's Missionaries. To which is prefixed a brief History of the Church in Abyssinia. By the Rev. Professor Lee, D. D. Accompanied by a Map.* London: Hatchard & Son, and Seeley & Sons. 1834. pp. 371.

In the year 1815, it was ascertained that a native Abyssinian had been for some years engaged in translating the Scriptures into Amharic, the principal vernacular Abyssinian language. This Amharic version of the entire Bible was purchased at Cairo, in 1820, by the Rev. W. Jowett, on account of the British and Foreign Bible Society. In 1826, the British Church Missionary Society sent into Egypt, the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Gobat and Christian Kugler, students of the seminary at Basle, with the



view of seeking the most convenient way of entering Abyssinia. In the mean time, the Bible Society printed the whole of the New Testament, both in Ethiopic and Amharic, and nearly closed the printing of the Amharic Pentateuch. The whole has been conducted under the superintendence of T. P. Platt, Esq. The missionaries departed from Cairo, and on the 28th of December, 1829, entered Abyssinia. They were very favorably received. Their principal employments were the distribution of the Scriptures, the study of the Tigré dialect, instruction in Arabic and English, composing school books, and a dictionary, &c. Mr. Kugler died on the 29th of December, 1830, in consequence of wounds received from the bursting of a gun. The love of conquest induced the independent governor of Amhara to declare war against Sebagadis, prince of Tigré. On the 14th of February, 1831, a battle was fought, and Sebagadis was killed. A scene of anarchy followed for some time, till Wolda Michael, eldest son of Sebagadis, succeeded in reducing the country to a state of tolerable quiet. Mr. Gobat found protection in a monastery, when necessary, and at other times travelled over the country and instructed the people, till the beginning of 1833, when he returned to Europe. Very lately, in company with Rev. Mr. Isenberg, a fellow missionary, he has repaired to the scene of his former labors.

The result of the missionary efforts for Abyssinia thus far, has been the translation and partial printing of the Bible in the Amharic language. The gospels and some copies of the epistles have been distributed in every quarter of the country. The religious conversations, which Mr. Gobat held at Gondar, have been reported in every province. "The most instructed persons have begun in consequence to doubt the truth of some of those errors, which they had always considered truth itself; and some young people appear to feel the drawing of the Father, who will lead them to Jesus, that they may receive eternal life." The means which appear to Mr. Gobat the most feasible at present for evangelizing Abyssinia, are multiplying copies of the word of God, preaching the gospel by way of conversation under all possible circumstances, and instructing young men with a view to their becoming schoolmasters.

Mr. Gobat says that in general the Abyssinians are not cruel. In war, they scarcely ever kill a man whom they take prisoner. What Bruce says concerning their cruelty to animals can scarcely be believed. Whenever Mr. G. asked them whether they did not sometimes cut off a piece of flesh from a living animal, to eat it, they have always manifested a horror at the idea.

The Christians of Abyssinia are at present divided into three parties, so inimical to each other, that they curse one another, and will no longer partake of the sacrament together. It is one single point of theology which disunites them—concerning the

*unction* of Jesus Christ. One party is of opinion, that when it is said that Jesus Christ was anointed with the Holy Spirit, it is meant that the Godhead, was united with the human nature of Jesus Christ; and that in all the passages of the Bible where the Holy Spirit is represented as having been given to Jesus Christ, the name Holy Spirit only signifies the divinity of Christ, who had no need of the Holy Spirit, whom he could not receive, having always possessed him. This party is chiefly in Tigré, and is the most exasperated one. The second opinion is, that when it is said that Jesus Christ was anointed with the Holy Spirit, it is signified merely that the Holy Spirit accomplished the union of the Godhead with the human nature in the person of Christ. This party is found principally in the provinces of Godgam and Lasta. The third opinion, predominating in all the other provinces of Abyssinia, is, that Jesus Christ, as man, although united to the Godhead from the moment of his conception, received the Holy Ghost in the human part of his nature, in the same manner as we receive him, namely, as a gift from the Father, whence they concluded that his unction is to be called a third birth. These differences of opinion are founded on the different views they have adopted respecting the two natures of Christ; though, according to the letter, they are all Monophysites.

The following is stated to be a literal translation of a "dirge over Sebagadis, which the people sing every evening, weeping, in all the Amhara country."

Alas! Sebagadis, the friend of all,  
Has fallen at Daga Shaha, by the hand of Oubeshat!  
Alas! Sebagadis, the pillar of the poor,  
Has fallen at Daga Shaha, weltering in his blood!  
The people of this country, will they find it a good thing  
To eat ears of corn which have grown in the blood?  
Who will remember [St.] Michael of November.

[i. e. to give alms] ?

Mariam, with five thousand Gallas has killed him  
[him, that is who remembered to give alms]  
For the half of a loaf, for a cup of wine,  
'The friend of the Christians has fallen at Daga Shaha!

Of the journal of Mr. Gobat, it is remarked in the preface, with great truth, that it is almost superfluous to say any thing, as it speaks with a genuine native simplicity for itself. "It may, however, be important, considering this document as a guide and model for other missionaries, to notice one uniform and undeviating practice adopted by the missionary, in all his religious conversations, whether with priests or laymen, learned or unlearned, chieftains or peasants. The practice alluded to is his constant reference to Scripture. This was the strength of his mission. He simply refutes the errors of his opponents by letting in upon them the full blaze of gospel truth."

- 6.—*Elements of Popular Theology, with special reference to the Doctrines of the Reformation, as avowed before the diet at Augsburg, in 1530. By S. S. Schmucker, D. D. Prof. Christ. Theol. in Theol. Sem. of Gen. Synod of Luth. Church, Gettysburg, Penn. Andover: Gould & Newman. 1834. pp. 412.*

THE emperor Charles V., in order to terminate the disputes between the pope and the princes who favored the reformation, which tended to distract his empire by civil discord, ordered the meeting of a diet at Augsburg, and promised his personal attendance. The pope also cherished some expectation that this diet would give a death blow to the protestant cause. Encouraged by the promise of impartial attendance from the emperor, the elector of Saxony charged Luther, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, and Justus Jonas, to make a sketch of their doctrines to be used at the diet. Such a summary was prepared by Luther in seventeen sections, termed the Torgan articles. The emperor, however, instead of reaching Augsburg on the 8th of April, according to promise, did not arrive till the 15th of June. Melancthon, in the mean time, expanded those Torgan articles, into what is now denominated the Augsburg Confession. This enlarged work was then submitted to Luther at Coburg, and received his cordial sanction. On the 25th of June, 1530, at 3 o'clock, P. M. this confession was publicly pronounced in the presence of the emperor, king Ferdinand, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the dukes of Luneburg and Brunswick, the landgrave of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, and about 200 other princes and divines. This confession exerted a great influence in favor of the reformation. It was soon disseminated through Europe, and has been translated into the Hebrew, Greek, Spanish, Belgic, Italian, Slavonic, French, and English languages. It has been denominated the mother symbol of the reformation, and has for three centuries been adopted in the following countries.

Germany, including Prussia, part of Hungary, and small part	<i>Inh.</i>
of France, . . . . .	17,000,000
Denmark, in which the king must profess it, . . . . .	1,000,000
Norway, including Iceland, . . . . .	746,000
Sweden, . . . . .	2,800,000

Lapland and Finland contain numerous churches of the Augsburg confession. The United Brethren, though peculiar in their church government, yet adhere strictly to this confession. There are probably more than 20,000,000 of Christians in Europe of this church, including seventeen reigning sovereigns. The Lutherans are more numerous than all the other protestant denominations in continental Europe together. This church in

the United States, containing 1,050 churches and about 48,000 regular communicants, has always regarded the Augsburg confession as the authorized summary of her doctrines, but has not required any oath of obligation to all its contents. The general synod has adopted only the twenty-one doctrinal articles, omitting even the condemnatory clauses of these, and also the entire catalogue of abuses corrected. The pledge of adoption required of ministers at licensure and ordination is, "1. Do you believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be the word of God, and the *only infallible* rule of faith and practice? 2. Do you believe, that the *fundamental* doctrines of the word of God, are taught in a manner *substantially* correct, in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg confession?"

This work of the learned professor is intended to be explanatory of the doctrines of this celebrated ecclesiastical creed. It was undertaken at the request of the general synod, and is supposed to contain the principal views, which are entertained by the great mass of Lutheran divines. We have found the work to be a lucid and frank exhibition of the Christian doctrines, and in many respects interesting to the general reader. In the course of the volume, the author takes occasion to speak of the American Colonization Society in the following manner. "This Society was doubtless prompted by the noblest principles of human nature, and has hitherto exerted a most salutary influence on the condition and prospects of our slave population. On the Christian and philanthropist its claims are strong. The essays and speeches, which it has elicited from our ablest orators, statesmen, and philosophers, in slave holding States, as well as elsewhere, have shed a flood of light throughout the community, and produced convictions in the public mind, without which, the cause of the poor African would have remained forever hopeless. Yet, though a warm friend of the Colonization Society from its origin, the writer never believed, nor can he yet see reason to believe, that African colonization either would or could be extended so far as to remove entirely the negro from our land. While the cause of colonization in Africa and elsewhere is advocated by philanthropists and Christians, it would appear to be their duty at the same time, to maintain the justice and necessity of *gradual* and *entire* abolition of slavery by legislative provision of the several States." On the subject of the connection between church and state, the author appears to us to be singularly happy in his statements. We are glad that a man so enlightened and judicious is placed at the head of the principal Lutheran Theological Seminary in the United States. We augur well from this source for the rapidly increasing German population of the country.



- 7.—*Sketches of Society in Great Britain and Ireland. By C. S. Stewart, M. A., of the U. S. Navy. Author of a Visit to the South Seas, &c. &c. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 1834. pp. 253, 274.*

THE journey of Mr. Stewart was performed in the summer of 1832, in company with captain Bolton, formerly known as captain Finch, commander of the United States' ship Vincennes. The route was from Liverpool to London, thence to Oxford, Weston Underwood, Nottingham, Sheffield, York, Durham, Edinburgh, Stirling, the Highlands, Glasgow, Dublin, and back to London. The narrative is written with the ease and grace for which Mr. Stewart's former journals are distinguished. His letters are almost exclusively taken up in describing his reception at the seats of various noblemen and gentlemen whose hospitalities he shared. Most of the information which he communicates, though not of much value in itself, is worthy of attention as giving a correct view of high life in its noble if not in its Christian forms. The particulars concerning the families of lord Byron, colonel Wildman, admiral Fleming, the duke of Gordon, Mr. Rodes, the bishop of Chester, sir John Sinclair, the marquis of Tweeddale, and others, are agreeable and amusing. We could have wished that details of more permanent interest, and observations indicative of deeper reflection, had been incorporated into the tasteful descriptions of men and manners. In one point of view, the volumes are worthy of praise. Mr. Stewart does not forget that he is a Christian as well as a gentleman. The perusal of his journal will increase the kind feelings which the people of the two countries are beginning to cherish towards each other, showing us that our republican aversion to nobles and bishops is sometimes indiscriminate and unjust, and convincing our transatlantic brethren that there is good breeding and refinement on this side of the ocean.

Respecting the duke of Wellington, Mr. Stewart says, "Time has laid his hand with distinctive marks upon him; and he has lost much in face and form of the imposing air and strongly marked character distinguishable in busts and portraits taken at an earlier and more flattering period of his life and history. He is only of middling height, or very little above it, is not stout, stoops a little, and appears to be what is perhaps best expressed by the familiar phrase, 'old and broken.'" "His majesty, is a short, stout man, of mild and benignant expression of countenance; and is, no doubt, as generally reported, a plain hearted and generous spirited sailor. He was in the simple uniform of an admiral; and in dress, and whole manner, as might have been expected, the least formal of the assemblage. The duchess of Kent is an intelligent looking woman, of middle height and size,

and of kind and amiable expression. The queen is tall and slender in figure, and not handsome in face; though the expression of her countenance is that of amiability, blended with intelligence and decision of character. She has the reputation of being most kind in her domestic and social affections. She is unremitted in her attentions to a favorite niece, the princess Louisa of one of the German states, now on a death bed at Windsor. She had passed a principal part of the night previous in the chamber of suffering and death." "Clarkson was conversing on his favorite topic when I entered. It still gives energy to his feelings and manner, though far advanced in age. He is the advocate of a gradual though total emancipation, gradual in its operations, more than in its limits of time." At an examination of the Mill Hill School, near London, sir John Key, the lord mayor, "dwelt with particular warmth and energy on the importance and blessing of the moral and religious spirit which characterized the school; rightly declaring, that on this, in all classes, united with a proper culture of mind, the best hopes of Britain were founded." "Every thing Cowper loved at Weston Underwood, now exhibits the desolation and the gloom, which clouded much of his life, and darkened the hour of his death. The house in which he long possessed so happy a retreat, is an almost untenable ruin; the garden he tilled is without culture or form; the hall of the Throckmortons razed to the ground; its parks cut down; and the wilderness a wilderness indeed. Every thing in the least associated with him as a resident of Weston, is literally a desolation." "Mr. Montgomery seems one of the most meek, quiet, and retiring of men, is full of the gentler qualities and humble spirit of Christianity." "The duke of Gordon is styled, in familiar phraseology, the *king of the north*, his influence in point of birth, rank, and property, being more extensive and more powerful than that of any other nobleman in Scotland. His father acceded to the dukedom with a funded property of more than £70,000, and an income from his landed estates of more than £50,000. The duke is now second in command to Wellington in the first regiment of the line in the royal army. The duchess of Gordon is accomplished in music, to a cultivated mind adds much natural sweetness and amiability of manner, and above all, the charm of enlightened and unchanging piety. At all times, when she is at home, there are prayers at nine o'clock in the morning, and at four o'clock in the afternoon, previous to the preparations for dinner, when the household and guests can most conveniently be assembled in the greatest number. When the chaplain is not at the castle, the duchess herself reads the Scriptures, and leads the worship of the chapel." "The whole character of the bishop of Chester, Dr. Sumner, in mind and spirit, and the entire habit of life in himself and in his family, are just such as those of a 'bishop of souls' should be.

He is so dignified, yet so condescending, so wise, yet so simple, so kind, so courteous, so meek, and so spiritual, that I delight to sit at his feet, and in himself study the genuine spirit and blessedness of the office he fills."

8.—*An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, both as a Penal Settlement and as a British Colony. By John Dunmore Lang, D. D., Senior Minister of the Scot's Church, and Principal of the Australian College, Sydney, New South Wales. In two volumes. London: Cochran & M'Crone. 1834. pp. 401, 443.*

THE object of Dr. Lang in this work is threefold, to afford the reader a correct idea of the history and tendency of the transportation system as it regards the Australian colonies—to give a representation of the present state of the Australian colony—and to advance the best interests of the colony by promoting the emigration of respectable families and individuals to its territories. The author is a sturdy Scotch presbyterian, who, like Dr. Philip in South Africa, has met with fierce opposition from the powers that be, in his efforts to establish a presbyterian church, and a new college in Sydney. The opposition arose from the government of the colony, and from some denominations of Christians. In the accomplishment of his purposes, he made three voyages to England, and sacrificed a large amount of property. The Australian college is represented as in successful operation, having the best buildings in Sydney, a respectable library, sixty or seventy students, and a good corps of officers. The cost of education in the colony has been greatly reduced by the establishment of the college. The room rent is gratuitous. The education of a youth attending the classical and elementary classes is £12 per annum. Boarding in the family of a master or professor costs £30 additional. The only other public institutions for the education of youth in New South Wales are the king's school at Paramatta under the care of the Rev. Mr. Forrest, and the Sydney college.

The population of the colony now amounts to about 65,000 souls, of whom 20,000 are convicts. The remaining 45,000 consist of three classes; 1. free emigrants, 2. natives of the colony, and 3. persons who were originally convicts, but whose sentences have expired, or who have been pardoned. The natives embrace a fair proportion of the intelligence, property, and general respectability of the colony. The estimated revenue for 1834 amounts to £160,000 and the expenditure to £114,000. Sydney, the capital, has a population of about 18,000. The number of licensed public houses in the town in 1832–3 was

195. In 1833-4 it was 217. The licenses produce a revenue of £5,425, exclusive of the direct duties on spirits, which amount for the whole colony to £80,000 per annum. There are various houses established without a license; and most of the respectable families of the town are supplied by the wholesale dealers or merchants, who are empowered by an act of council to sell spirits or wine in quantities of not less than two gallons without license. A temperance society has been formed very recently both in Sydney and in Van Diemen's Land, by the instrumentality of Mr. Backhouse, a benevolent member of the Society of Friends. The episcopal church establishment consists of an archdeacon, (Scott,) fifteen chaplains, and three catechists; the episcopal school establishment embraces a male and a female orphan school, each under the superintendence of a half-pay lieutenant in the navy, and about thirty primary schools. The cost of these establishments in 1828 was £22,000. A Roman Catholic vicar is established in the colony with a salary from government of £200 per annum; there are six Roman Catholic chaplains with salaries of £150 each; besides £800 per annum are given for Roman Catholic schools. There is a congregation of Independents, another of Baptists, and some Methodists, at Sydney.

9.—*Poems.* By *S. G. Bulfinch.* Charleston: 1834.

THE appearance of a volume of original poetry, from the American press, is not an event of so frequent occurrence, that we can afford, even if so disposed, to pass it over in silence, especially if recommended to our attention by its intrinsic excellence. Our countrymen are too much engaged in business, in politics, and in the various topics of temporary interest and excitement, whether local or general, which are always to be found in a state of society like ours, to have much leisure or relish for the calm enjoyments of philosophy and poetry. Should they manifest an inclination to either, it must be to a philosophy which can be speedily turned to some practical account, or to poetry of that exciting character, which will arouse an attention already exhausted by more engrossing cares.

But it is not merely or principally our want of *readers* of works of these classes, which we have occasion to notice; the paucity of our *writers* is still more observable. Many among the twelve millions of our countrymen, are accustomed occasionally, and for the purpose of relaxation, to turn aside from their common and more engrossing pursuits, and to spend a portion of their time in these tranquillizing studies, while there are few, who perceive in such pursuits a charm sufficient to induce them to abandon for life, the beaten paths, in which their countrymen are pursuing happiness. Tired, as we all are, of perpetual excitement, and



ceaseless activity, it might be thought, that many would gladly turn aside from the pursuits of the multitude, and devote themselves to enjoyments of a greater and more purely intellectual character. Such we doubt not will ultimately be the case; and if we look back to a period twenty-five or thirty years since, we may be surprised to see how great a change, in this respect, has already occurred. At that period, the number of American writers, in almost every department of polite learning, was extremely limited; and though the inquiry then made, "who reads an American book?" implied what was not even in Europe strictly true, it is still certain, that the number of American books then read, even on this side of the Atlantic, was very small. At this time it would be difficult to specify a single department of literature, which has not been successfully cultivated by our countrymen. Even the field of poetry, in which was then to be found scarcely a single successful aspirant for fame, is now advanced by the labors of a few, whose works are read and admired, not only in this country, but in Europe.

Still it is refreshing, amidst the turmoil and bustle with which we are every where surrounded, to be invited occasionally to turn aside into the calmer region of elegant literature, and especially into that of genuine poetry. Such an opportunity, we are happy to say, is presented in the small volume now before us. It is the production of the Rev. Mr. Bulfinch, pastor of the Unitarian church in Augusta, Georgia. With his theological sentiments we have now no concern. Even in the devotional poems, which form a prominent portion of this small volume, we observe few indications of his peculiar sentiments.

The work is divided into three parts. The first and longest poem which probably cost the author the most time and labor, is entitled "*Chivalry*." This piece has much poetical merit, though, in our view, less than belongs to some of the minor pieces in each of the other divisions. There is great vigor, however, in the diction, and much that is spirit-stirring in the sentiments. Our objection to it, so far as we have any, arises from the nature of the spirit which it breathes—the love of arms and of heroic achievement. We think that in this respect, the author might have derived a profitable lesson from perusing the writings of his distinguished fellow-citizen, Mr. Grinké. The love of military glory, no American patriot will wish to see excited in his countrymen, and least of all should it be found in the writings of those who are set to proclaim the gospel of peace. It is a spirit which was never caught from perusing the record of the life and instructions of our Lord and Master.

The second part consists of devotional pieces, among which are several possessing, as it seems to us, great moral and poetical beauty. Among those, we will venture to designate the poems

entitled "Meditation, Thoughts on the Saviour, The Calling of Peter, The Search for Truth, Temptation, and The Sabbath Day."

Of the miscellaneous poems, which constitute the largest portion of the work, some possess great merit, and all are distinguished by pure and elevated sentiments, and great felicity of expression.

We now take leave of this volume, in the hope and confident expectation, that we shall one day be permitted to see that larger work, to which allusion is more than once made in the volume before us.

10.—*The Origin and History of Missions; containing faithful accounts of the Voyages, Travels, Labors, and Successes of the various Missionaries who have been sent forth to evangelize the Heathen; compiled from authentic documents; forming a complete Missionary Repository; illustrated by numerous Engravings, from original drawings, made expressly for this work. By the Rev. Thomas Smith, Minister of Trinity Chapel, London, and Rev. John O. Choules, A. M., New Bedford, Ms. In two volumes.* Boston: Published by Samuel Walker. 1832, and 1834.

As this important work is now brought to a conclusion, we take the opportunity to commend it to the attention of all the friends of missions, and of the best interests of the human race. In the first place it contains a great amount of information. There are about 1,300 pages of large quarto, furnishing full details of the missions of all the Protestant missionary societies throughout the world. It is the first work within our knowledge, which has come up, in the extent of its information, to the claims of the great subject of missions. It is no honor to the Christian world to have been so long satisfied with diminutive duodecimos, or with current periodical publications, on a theme like that of the evangelization of the world; when the chronicles of a king's court, or the statistics of a small island, have not unfrequently laid under contribution the best skill of the artist, and the heaviest outlay of the publisher. This reproach is now removed. After a pretty close examination, we consider the work to have been faithfully and accurately done. As a general thing, a continued history is given in the words of the missionaries who were on the field of labor, and personally interested in the events recorded, or else in the condensed and arranged statements of the directors and secretaries of the missionary establishments at home. It is possible that greater accuracy might have been attained, if each missionary had been requested to prepare, expressly for this history, an account of his own sphere of operations. But this

would have been nearly impracticable, if not unnecessary. As it is, we are well satisfied that the investigation of documents has been laborious and successful. The best resources of this kind, which London and Boston, the two great marts of missionary information, possess, have been put in requisition. In the third place, the work is impartial. The original statements respecting the English societies were prepared by Mr. Smith, a Methodist clergyman of lady Huntingdon's connection, while the records of the American missionary societies, together with the revision of the whole work, have been brought out under the superintendence of Mr. Choules, a Baptist clergyman. Still the complexion of the undertaking is neither Baptist nor Methodist. Full share has been allowed to all the other great departments in the missionary army. We think that the missions of the United Brethren, and of the British Church Missionary Society, are delineated as truly and judiciously as any in the work. So far as we have examined, there is nothing of a narrow spirit, or sectarian rivalry, in the two volumes. The journals are written in the spirit of the sublime valedictory prayer recorded in the gospel of John, where the love and unity of the whole body of believers are so affectingly implored by the great Intercessor. Again, the work is full of interest and rational amusement. It was not intended to be a philosophical and elaborate analysis of the principles of the missionary enterprise, but a clear, cheerful, and consistent narrative of events. It is strictly a popular work. A large amount of entertaining anecdote, eventful incident, graphic portraiture of manners and customs, geographical and topographical knowledge, will be found to be embodied. Every family in the country would find in them a large fund for social pleasure and intellectual gratification around the fireside of a winter evening. In conclusion, the mechanical execution is every way worthy of the subject. The type is large and clear, the paper good, and the illustrations, nearly all of them engraved on steel, combining many striking portraits. The work has been brought out at great expense, and it is well done. We cannot but hope that the publisher and the editor will be amply remunerated. The importance of the subject can hardly be magnified. The history is a record of the victories of the Son of God, going forth to his great work—the *new* creation of a world. All, who are interested in the triumphs of redeeming love, cannot but be desirous to become well acquainted with the first efforts and dawning successes of its friends. To all such we earnestly and confidently recommend "*The Origin and History of Missions.*"

**LITERARY ,**  
AND  
**PHILOSOPHICAL INTELLIGENCE.**

**Great Britain.**

*Captain John Ross.*—This distinguished navigator was born about the year 1776. Of course he is now about 58 years old. In 1786, he entered the royal navy, afterwards the merchant's service, then the East India company's service, and in 1799, returned to the royal navy. In 1817, he commanded an expedition to the Polar sea, which returned in 1818. The most northern point he reached was between 77 deg. and 78 deg. He afterwards applied three times to government for means to fit out another expedition, but without success. At this juncture, Felix Booth, an eminent London merchant, saw fit to furnish the necessary supplies. He expended in all about £18,000 or £19,000. Captain Ross sailed on Saturday, May 23, 1829, in the steam-vessel *Victory*, accompanied by his nephew commodore James C. Ross, Thom purser, McDiarmid surgeon, and nineteen others. They penetrated to 70 deg., when their progress was interrupted by ice. They spent the winter in Felix harbor. The summer of 1830 was an extremely unfavorable one. The ice did not break up. In the middle of November, they removed five miles to Sheriff's harbor, where they spent the winter of 1830 and 1831. The cold was extremely violent, the thermometer standing at 92° below freezing point. They were, however, able to make some excursions on the ice, and record many interesting observations. Captain Ross thinks that they have proved satisfactorily that there is no passage below the 71st degree of latitude, and that a more northern route, if one could be discovered, would be of no use to commerce. Com. Ross is, however, of a different opinion, especially in respect to the first of these points. In the summer of 1831, they were able to move only fourteen miles north. All hopes of saving the ship were now at an end. They left their position, called *Victory harbor*, on the 29th of May, 1832, for *Fury beach*, where a ship, with its stores, had been left by Capt. Parry. This point they reached on the 1st of July, completely exhausted. On the 1st of September they reached *Leopold South island*, now established to be the north-eastern point of America, in latitude 74°, and longitude 70° west. The ice blocking up their further passage, they were compelled to return to *Fury beach*, and spend the winter. One man died, and several were extremely affected by the cold. They finally left *Fury beach* on the 8th of July, in two boats, which had belonged to the *Fury*, and on the 15th of August, found a lane of waters opened. They crossed *Prince Regent inlet*, on the 17th. On the 26th, they found the whale ship *Isabella*, which was on



search for their wreck or their bodies. Captain Bartholomew, the commander, had proceeded at his own suggestion, some distance north of the usual route. Captain Ross attributes the healthy condition of his crew, only one having died, to the fact that for the last fifteen months, they were entirely without ardent spirits. "But the glory of the enterprise," remarks captain Ross, "is entirely due to Him whose divine favor has been especially manifested to us, who guided and directed all our steps, whose mercies proved effectual means for our preservation, and when even every device and invention of man had failed us, crowned our expedition with complete success."—Capt. Back, who was sent after Capt. Ross, spent the last winter at Fort Reliance, in  $62^{\circ} 48'$  north latitude, and  $109^{\circ}$  west longitude. The general results of captain Ross's expedition are mentioned in the last number of this work, page 208.

Dr. Southey is now engaged in writing the life of Dr. Watts, to accompany a new edition of the *Lyric Poems*. Though in some respects, no man is so illy qualified as Southey to write the life of the sweet psalmist of the British Zion, yet he will bring research and a considerable degree of candor to the work. It will be interesting to contemplate the same character in different points of view.—Mrs. Hemans has published a new volume of poems and hymns, which are spoken of in the *Eclectic Review* as excellent in their kind, but not to be regarded as Christian lyrics in the sense in which the hymns of Montgomery and Wesley are.—A new edition of the works of president Edwards, has just appeared in London, under the charge of a Mr. Henry Rogers, who has prefixed an introductory view of the development of president Edwards's mind, with special reference to the essay on the Freedom of the Will. A London magazine speaks in very high terms of the ability with which Mr. Rogers has enriched this edition. We have long thought that it would be a most interesting undertaking to trace the progress of the mind which is reluctantly compelling the admiration of England. Whether Mr. Rogers has the ability to pursue such an analysis, remains to be seen.—The second volume of Mr. Montgomery Martin's history of the British colonies has been issued in London. It embraces the West Indies. The first volume included a great variety of official documents, and statistical tables, but it was not drawn up with that ability which we expected. It was rather a compilation of facts, than a profound and philosophical view of a most interesting topic, intermingled and supported by facts. Mr. Martin is a conservative, and a decided advocate of the value of the colonies to Britain.—The rapidity with which treatises on Moral Philosophy come out in Britain, is evidence of a feeling of necessity for something better than existing works. Mr. Dymond, Drs. Dick, Wardlaw, and Crombie, have just published their respective systems. We have heard a good judge in this country express the highest admiration of Dr. Wardlaw's lectures. We have not read them yet ourselves. Dr. Crombie, the author we believe of some works on the Latin language, is highly praised, both in the London and Edinburgh Reviews. His work is to be re-published at Cambridge.—Professor Lee, of Cambridge, has published a sermon in which he

has attempted to prove that the original patriarchal Sabbath is our Sunday. "The names assigned to the several days of the week, may be traced up to the very earliest times of Egyptian, Chaldean, and Persian history, whence it will appear, first that the observance of *weekly periods of seven days* must have originally been derived from the Bible, perhaps as early as the patriarchal times, and secondly, that particular veneration would always be attached to that day which had been named after the *sun*, and which is the same with *Sunday*." The Egyptian solar year commenced, as is generally supposed, when the sun entered Leo. Moses, however, fixed the commencement of the Jewish year, at the period of the vernal equinox, when the sun entered Aries, the first Jewish month being styled Abib. Now the commencement and conclusion of the feasts of unleavened bread and pentecost, were to fall on certain days of the month, which were to be Sabbaths. In the case of the former feast, these days were the 15th and 22d, therefore the 1st, 8th, 15th, and 22d, must have been Sabbath days; and as a Sabbath was also to happen on the 15th of the seventh month, and as the five or six additional days were to be considered, a difficulty arises, from whence professor Lee attempts to show, that the day *now* observed by Jews, cannot be that appointed by Moses, which would not agree with the lunar notation of time adopted by the Jews.

We have condensed the following statements from the last report just received from London of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

*The Nervous System.*—The subsequent facts, according to Dr. Henry, of Manchester, are among the most important, which have been fully ascertained in the physiology of the nervous system. 1. One universal type has been followed in the formation of the nervous system in vertebrated animals. The brain of the human form is gradually evolved in the successive months of its existence; and these stages of progressive development strictly correspond with permanent states of the adult brain at inferior degrees of the animal scale. 2. These successive increments of cerebral matter are found to be accompanied by parallel advances in the manifestation of the higher instincts and of the mental faculties. 3. That the brain is the material organ of all intellectual states and operations, is proved by observation on comparative development, as well as by experiments on living animals, and by the study of human pathology. But there does not exist any conclusive evidence for referring separate faculties, or moral affections, to distinct portions of brain. 4. Certain irregular movements are produced by injuries of the corpora striata, thalami optici, crura cerebelli, and semi-circular canals of the internal ear. 5. The tubercula quadrigemina preside over the motions of the iris, and their integrity seems essential even to the functions of the retina. They are also according to Flourens, the points at which irritation first begins to excite pain and muscular contractions. 6. The cerebellum appears to exert some degree of control over the instruments of locomotion; but the precise nature and amount of this influence cannot be distinctly defined. 7. The cerebrum, cerebellum, and medulla oblongata possess the faculty of acting periodically, or sponta-

neously, without requiring foreign excitation. The spinal cord and the nerves are not endowed with spontaneity of action, and are therefore termed subordinate parts. 8. The medulla oblongata exercises the office of originating and regulating the motions essential to the act of respiration. By virtue of its continuity with the spinal marrow, it also participates in the functions of that division of nervous matter. 9. The function of the spinal cord is simply that of a *conductor* of motive impulses, from the brain to the nerves, supplying the muscles, and of sensitive impressions from the surface of the body to the sensorium commune. These two vital offices reside in distinct portions of the spinal medulla,—the propagation of motion in its anterior columns, the transmission of sensation in its posterior columns. There is no necessary dependence of the motions of the heart, and the other involuntary muscles on the spinal marrow. 10. The nerves are comprehended in the four following classes: *First.* Nerves simply of motion. These are the third, fourth, sixth, portio dura of the seventh, and the ninth. *Second.* Of motion and sensation. This function is possessed by the fifth pair of cerebral nerves, and by the spinal nerves, which agree precisely in anatomical composition. *Third.* Of the senses. This division comprises the first and second pairs and the portio mollis of the seventh pair. These nerves are insensible to ordinary stimulants, and possess an exclusive sensibility to their respective objects, viz. odorous matter, light, and aerial undulations. *Fourth.* The ganglionic system, or that of the great sympathetic nerve, and its associated plexuses and ganglia.

*Desiderata in Meteorology.*—Professor Forbes, of Edinburgh, in his report, notices the following. 1. Verification of Dr. Dalton's theory of the constitution of the atmosphere, by direct experiment. 2. Experiments in various latitudes upon the temperature of the earth at moderate depths, by means of thermometers with long tubes; with a view to determine the position of the "invariable stratum," where external causes cease to produce any effect. 3. Experiments on solar and terrestrial radiation. 4. Observations on the horary oscillations of the barometer, at considerable heights above the sea. This more particularly applies to places near the equator. 5. Additional observations to determine what is the influence of the moon on the height of the barometer. 6. The application of the hygrometric correction to the barometric formulæ for heights. 7. Observations on the phenomena of winds at two stations, at considerably different elevations. The direction of the wind should be noted in *degrees*, beginning from the south and proceeding by the west. 8. Magnetical observations, regularly conducted, especially with a view to auroral phenomena.

*Aurora Borealis.*—The following are the most important points which demand the attention of observers. 1. The elevation of the auroral arches and streamers above the surface of the earth. 2. The determination of the question whether the auroral exhibition is accompanied by sound. 3. The influence of arches, streamers, and other auroral phenomena on the magnetic needle. Observers should make themselves well acquainted with the names of all the principal stars north of the equator, especially those which do not set here. This will most easily be done by studying a celestial globe,

A magnetic needle should be kept in a proper place, suspended by a silk fibre or a slender hair (a point support not being delicate enough), and so mounted that deviations can be observed to the accuracy of 1'. The observer must leave his watch with his assistant, and very carefully remove all keys, knives, and other things containing iron from his dress, and all loose iron tools, to at least 20 feet from the needle. It is recommended that arrangements be made for ascertaining the error of a watch, by means of an observatory, a good meridian line or dial, or a watchmaker's regulator, if he has a good one.

*Optics.*—The following desiderata are noticed in Sir David Brewster's report. The determination of various *constants*, namely. 1. The refractive indices of the two pencils in all crystalized bodies, measured in reference to definite points of the spectrum. 2. The angles at which light is polarized by reflection from crystalized and uncrystalized surfaces. 3. The inclination of the resultant axis of crystals, having double refraction for different rays of the spectrum. 4. The dimensions of the ellipse, which regulates the polarization of metals and their alloys. 5. The circularly polarizing forces of fluids and solutions. 6. The refractive and dispersive powers of ordinary solid and fluid bodies, measured according to the method of Fraunhofer. 7. Experimental determination of the effects of the absorption of light by gases upon the light of the fixed stars.

*Mineralogy.*—The desiderata noticed in Mr. Whewell's report, are 1. To determine the optical differences on which depend the distinctions of the different kinds of lustre, metallic, adamantine, vitreous, resinous, pearly. 2. To determine whether the oblique rhombic prism, constitutes a real system of crystalline forms, or is a hemihedral form of the right prism. 3. To determine the limits of magnitude and simplicity in crystalometrical ratio. 4. To determine whether chemical groups are strictly isomorphous, or only plesimorphous. 5. To determine whether the angles of plesimorphous crystals are separated by definite or by indefinite steps. 6. To determine what are the differences of chemical composition corresponding to differences of optical structure in resembling minerals as apophyllite, tesselite, luco-cylite.

*Geology.*—1. An accurate examination of the conclusions deducible from the known density of the earth, as to the solid structure and composition of the interior. 2. The attention of residents in remote countries is invited to the two great questions of geology and palaeontology. Is there or is there not such a general uniformity of type in the series of rock formations in distant countries, that we must have conceived them to have resulted from general causes of almost universal prevalence at the same geological era? Are the organic remains of the same geological period specifically similar in *very* remote districts, and more especially under climates actually different; or are they grouped together within narrower boundaries, and under restrictions as to geographical *habitats*, analogous to those which prevail in the actual system of things? 3. An examination of the geological structure of the countries constituting the great basin of the Indus, where, if in any part of India, it is supposed a complete series of secondary strata may be expected.



4. A correct account of the affinity that the contents of a mineral vein bear to *certain* of the rocks in which the fissure may be situated.

*Radiant Heat*.—1. Do the ratios of the conducting powers of substances remain the same for all thicknesses? It is alleged that in certain cases simple heat is radiated *freely and directly* through transparent media. Is it meant that the manner of its transmission in such cases is strictly analogous to that in which light is communicated; or is it only an extremely rapid communication by *conduction*? What circumstances can be fixed upon to determine our view of the matter? 2. Taking into account the thickness, state of surface, &c. of a body exposed to radiant heat, does any portion of time elapse before it acquires heat from the source; or before it begins to radiate it again when acquired? And how soon will it commence radiating on the opposite side; or according to what law does the heat distribute itself over or through the body? These questions are put in reference chiefly to the action of the body as a *screen*, and to the possibility of accounting for an *apparently direct* transmission of heat without the necessity of supposing any other principle than that of *conduction*. 3. What are the modifications which radiant heat undergoes in passing through small apertures? 4. Sir John Leslie found that the focus for simple heat in the concave reflectors he used, was different from and nearer to the reflector than that for light. Is this confirmed by more extensive and exact observations? And what is the precise focal distance in different cases? 5. What is the proportion of heat reflected at different incidences? 6. What radiation takes place *in vacuo*?

*Botany*.—1. An accurate account of the manner in which the woody part of plants is formed. "Perhaps there is no mode of proceeding to elucidate this point, which would be more likely to lead to positive results, than a very careful anatomical examination of the progressive development of the mangel-wurzel, beginning with the dormant embryo, and ending with the perfectly formed plant." 2. An investigation of the comparative anatomy of flowerless plants, with a view to discover in them the analogy and origin of their organic structure. 3. The cause of the various colors of plants. 4. The nature of the faecal excretions of cultivated plants, and of common weeds; the degree in which those excretions are poisonous to the plants that yield them or to others; the most ready means of decomposing such excretions by manures or other means.

*Zoology*.—1. The use of horns in the class mammalia; the reasons of their presence in the females of some, and their absence in those of other species; the reason of their being deciduous in some tribes, and persistent in others. The use of the lachrymal sinus in certain families of the ruminantia. 3. The conditions which regulate the geographical distribution of mammalia. 4. The changes of color of hair, feathers, and other external parts of animals; how these changes are effected in parts usually considered by anatomists as extra-vascular. 5. The nature and use of the secretions of certain glands immediately under the skin, above the eyes, and over the nostrils, in certain species of the grallatores and natatores; the nature and use of the secretion of the uropygial gland. 6. The use of the antennæ in insects. Are they

organs of hearing, of smell, or of a peculiar sensation. 7. The function of the femoral pores in lizards, in the degree of importance due to them as offering characters for classification.

### Continent of Europe.

*Book Fair at Leipzig.*—With some unimportant exceptions formed by the book fairs at Frankfort on the Maine, the whole book trade for Germany may be said to centre in Leipzig. The arrangement has continued since the close of the 16th century. All matters connected with the purchase and sale of books are carried into effect not by the traders themselves in person, but through the medium of *agents* who reside in Leipzig. Every respectable publisher and bookseller in Germany has his own agent, who is vested with full powers. A bookseller at Halle for instance does not apply to Perthes in Hamburgh, for a book which Perthes has published, but to his own agent in Leipzig, who confers with the agent of Perthes in that city. An annual catalogue of books issued or about to be issued during the year is published by Weidman at the Easter Fair, or rather two catalogues are issued, one containing the books already published, the other such as are about to appear. This publication was commenced in 1600, and has been continued every year since. That which was issued at Easter in 1833, is a large octavo of 361 closely printed pages, and containing merely the titles of books published. The titles are more than 5,500 in number, works in every possible department of human knowledge, and in almost every written language. If in the enumeration, each work contains only two volumes, we shall have the enormous sum of 11,000 volumes. The titles of about 500 works in theology are mentioned. The works in other departments of science are even still more numerous. Such is the amazing fertility of the German press, altogether without a parallel among all the nations of the Christian world.

Vesuvius is at this time exhibiting some very remarkable phenomena. On the 20th of May, two new small craters were formed near the old one, from which issued stones and flame. Above a small cone on the side which faces the Camaldules of Torre del Greco, an enormous fissure has been opened to the width of 300 feet, and a depth of 50 feet, around which are a great number of smaller craters; from whence issues smoke, emitting a very disagreeable odor. On the 23d, a violent shock of the mountain was the signal of an eruption of lava, which divided into two torrents, one taking its course towards Boscotressa, and the other towards Vetrana. From the 21st to the 24th an immense column of smoke rose half a mile high, in which the rays of the sun formed beautiful rainbows.

The velocity of the wind varies from nothing up to 100 miles in an hour; but the maximum is variously stated by different authors. According to Sineaton, a gentle breeze moves between four and five miles per hour, and has a force of about two ounces on a foot; a brisk pleasant gale moves from ten to fifteen miles, with a force of twelve ounces; a high wind, thirty to thirty-five miles, with a force of five or six pounds: a hurricane, bearing

along trees, houses, &c., has a velocity of 100 miles, and a force of forty-nine pounds on the square foot.

The Geographical Society of Paris has just proposed the following prizes:—A gold medal, worth 600*f.*, for the best mathematical and critical history of all the works which have been executed since the revival of letters in Europe, for measuring the meridians of the earth and the parallels to the equator. A gold medal worth 800*f.*, and another of 400*f.*, for the best physical descriptions of a natural region of the French territories. A gold medal of 100*f.* to such persons as shall ascertain the exact geometrical level of an important part of the greatest rivers of France, and of the principal smaller rivers. Also, a premium of 7,000*f.* to any traveller who may give a description of the hitherto unknown parts of French Guiana, and fix the position of the source of the river Maroni. The memorials must be sent to the Society before the 31st of December next.

A large district of Europe, comprehending the north-western parts of Turkey, and the eastern of Austria, with a population of 5,000,000, or 6,000,000, is comparatively unknown. One of the most interesting portions of it, Macedonia, has been lately described with much fidelity, by a Frenchman, M. Cousinery, who was employed in 1793, and again in 1814, in an official capacity, by the French government. His descriptions are represented as trust-worthy, and of great value. We observe that Messrs. Dwight and Schaffler, of Constantinople, American missionaries, have lately been on a tour in some parts of Macedonia. Saloniki, the ancient Thessalonica, contains a large number of Jews. Some of them are nominal Mohammedans, and are called false apostates.

Mr. John Barrow, Jr., son of the secretary of the British admiralty, whose travels in the north of Europe, are favorably spoken of by the principal British Reviews, is now on a tour to Iceland.

By the latest accounts from Germany, the celebrated philologist, William Gesenius, had suffered a relapse, and was supposed to be on the borders of the grave. He was born February 3, 1786, at Northhausen, where his father was a respectable medical writer and practitioner. William was educated at the universities of Helmstädt and Göttingen. His conviction of the necessity of a better Hebrew grammar and lexicon, induced him to give almost his whole attention to the study of the Old Testament. He resided at Göttingen as *magister legens*, and lecturer on theology, from 1806 to 1809. In 1809, he was appointed professor of ancient literature in the gymnasium at Heiligenstadt. In 1810 he went to Halle, as extraordinary professor of theology, and in 1811, was appointed ordinary professor. He has long been regarded as the founder of the true exegetical exposition of the Old Testament. He is considered with Wegscheider, as at the head of the rationalist school.

#### SIAM.

In December last, a fleet of 70 war-boats, and about 100 transports, left Bangkok, on their way to attack the king of Cambodia. The land force amounted to 90,000 men. From Cambodia, they purposed to proceed to

Cochin China, to aid the insurgents, who now war against the existing ruler of that country.

#### Arabia.

A horde of Bedouin Arabs, amounting to 30,000 men, have carried by storm the fort and town of Mocha, plundering the whole country along that coast. A large portion of the Turkish garrison of 600 fell in the defence. For three days, the ill fated town was given up to plunder.

#### Syria.

A formidable insurrection has broken out at Nablous, between Acre and Jerusalem, against the authority of Ibrahim Pacha, in consequence of his endeavor to disarm the people, and to establish a conscription.—Mr. Robert Tod, a British merchant at Damascus, has established a line of couriers from Damascus to Bagdad and Bussorah. A courier is despatched once every twenty days from Damascus, and performs the journey to Bussorah in from sixteen to twenty-three days. This route has the advantage of being less exposed to the uncertainties of the sea.

#### Persia.

The death of the crown prince, Abbas Meerza, does not seem as yet to have occasioned serious disturbances. The death of the old king, an event probably not far distant, it is supposed, will be the signal of great commotions, as the sons of the prince are numerous, and eager for the throne. Russia would probably like to foment divisions.

#### Affghanistan.

At the date of the last intelligence, Dr. Gerard, the companion of Burnes, was at Cabool. The head of that chiefship was preparing to attack Peshawur.



**VIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.****United States.**

SINCE our last number was issued, there have been occurrences of a very disgraceful character, in New York, Philadelphia, and Charlestown, Massachusetts. In the latter place, the Ursuline Nunnery on Mt. Benedict, containing property to a considerable amount, was burnt, and a number of females, mostly children of Protestant parents were thrown out of their home, defenceless, in the dead of night. The occurrence, as might have been expected, excited universal indignation and sorrow. The most active proceedings have been instituted to ascertain the authors of the outrage. Various conjectures, more or less sage, have been offered as to the causes, ultimate and proximate, of the disturbance. A respectable contemporary ascribes it in part to "the writings and preaching of some one or more of those pests of our community, who seem to have little other notion of religion, than that it is a subject about which men's passions may be inflamed, and they may be made to hate each other." What writers and preachers are referred to in this sentence, we have not the means of knowing. That the assertion is wholly groundless is certain. We have never heard the preacher nor read the writing which had in view to rouse a lawless mob to such deeds of violence. When the doctrines and tendencies of the Roman Catholic church have been exhibited in public discourses, it was not for the purpose of arousing an indiscriminate indignation against that church, but of preventing such a result. That injudicious and heated declamation has been occasionally exhibited by certain Protestants, is doubtless true, but nothing which could have stimulated to such a catastrophe as the burning of the convent at Charlestown. We doubt whether the persons engaged in the riot had ever heard or read of the extravagances referred to. It was, unless we are altogether mistaken, a comparatively private, and individual affair, not implicating any body or association or denomination of men, and not indicative of any public opinion or tendency. It was probably very much owing to misinformation in regard to a particular person connected with the convent. That there is a deep seated dislike to the Catholic religion throughout New England we believe, and we rejoice in the belief. We have no sympathy with such a notion as the following. "The apprehensions which have been expressed of danger from the preva-

lence of the Catholic faith, if we can suppose them to have been expressed in good faith, are among the wildest dreams of fanaticism." With such pseudo Protestantism, and ignorance of history as is implied in that sentence, we wish to have no connection. What is it but affirming either that the glorious Reformation from Popery in the 16th century was an idle matter, or that Popery is essentially different now from what it was in the days of Luther. We claim the privilege of maintaining the principles of Protestantism by argument, by appeal, in writing and speeches, in all suitable times and ways. The same privilege of examining, and if it can be, of overturning the Protestant faith, is cheerfully conceded to the Catholic.

The election of various State and National officers is now proceeding with much warmth. The two principal divisions are the Whigs or opponents of the present administration, and Jackson men, or friends to the administration. In some of the States there is a respectable body of anti-masons, who are for the most part opposed to the principal measures of general Jackson's administration. The desecration of the Sabbath by a Whig celebration at New Orleans, has been generally and justly animadverted upon by all the political parties. At the same time, it is too much forgotten that the rancorous and bitter partizan spirit, which frequently disgraces our elections, is equally an offence against good morals. In such a case the Sabbath may be kept outwardly, when the bosoms of the professed worshippers are the seat of all uncharitableness and maliciousness. We beseech Christian electors to look at this point. The months of October and November will not only try their patriotism, but their moral integrity. We believe it is the duty of professing Christians, clergymen as well as others, to vote, and perform all the duties of good citizens, but let them be careful to show that they are conscientious men, and superior to all cabal and mere party tactics. The character of Daniel, in the court of Babylon, is worthy of an attentive study at the present time.

There appears to be no diminution of interest on the subject of slavery. Public opinion is evidently in a rapidly forming state. The principle of colonization will not be abandoned, while it is beginning to be regarded as inadequate to the exigencies of the times. It has proved, and will prove to be still, a rich blessing to this country and to Africa, exerting a powerful indirect influence in opposition to slavery. But other influences need to be applied. New means must be put in requisition. A right direction ought now to be given to public opinion on this momentous subject. While the people of

the northern States disclaim all political action, and confine themselves to scriptural and legitimate efforts to enlighten the public mind, and arouse the public conscience to the enormous evils of slavery, no person ought to complain, no southern community or individual ought to find fault. We are fully convinced that darkness will not enlighten itself. Slavery was never abolished in any land within our knowledge, by light furnished, in the first instance, from within itself. The original impulse must be external. The sensibilities of slaveholders are blunted by long familiarity with the evils around them. They must allow of the friendly co-operation of others, who are in this respect in more favorable circumstances. That which is now needed pre-eminently is a full exposure, in a Christian spirit, of the evils of slavery. Its deleterious effects on agriculture, on political economy in all its aspects, on the social feelings and moral sensibilities, in destroying the human mind, and in throwing great obstacles in the way of human salvation, ought to be brought forward kindly but fearlessly. This can be done with great advantage and effect in the free States. At the same time, the principles of the New Testament ought to be explained and reflected upon clearly and universally. It is matter of heartfelt joy, that a greatly increased attention is given in some portions of the slave States to the religious instruction of the slaves. We believe, after all, that no power, but that of vital Christianity as exerted on the heart and life, both of the slaveholder and slave, is adequate to the peaceable extinction of slavery.

*Female Education.*—There is a large class of females in this country, belonging to families which are in moderate circumstances, who are debarred, in a great measure, from the advantages of education held out by our higher schools. Incorporated academies exist in comparatively few towns. The common district schoolmasters, who are competent to superintend the studies of advanced scholars, are absorbed in the discipline of a crowded and heterogeneous multitude. The few private female schools of a high order, which are scattered over the country, are too expensive to benefit the class in question. A farmer or mechanic, worth three or five thousand dollars, cannot expend two hundred dollars per annum in the education of a daughter, when there are three or four more, perhaps, waiting for the same privilege. With great exertion they may pay the expenses of a single quarter, but to liquidate a year's demands is impracticable. There are thousands, and tens of thousands, of females in this country, whom a superior education would greatly profit, but who are now excluded. Some remedy ought to be devised. The necessities of this important portion of the community should be clearly and strongly

exhibited. We have never been able to understand that a thorough *theoretical* education is any disadvantage to females. We are aware of the common remark that their mental training must be appropriate to the sphere in life which they are to fill. A *practical* education has charms in many minds. We believe, however, that a thorough training of the mind in philosophy, mathematics, the languages, we mean the *dead* languages, will do more to qualify the female to discharge her duties satisfactorily and conscientiously, than all the fashionable accomplishments so called and so common. A thorough education can be made available in any circumstances. It does not disqualify or disincline a person from vigorous and successful manual labor. God has made the female mind peculiarly plastic. Literary ladies (sometimes thus named in reproach, as if domestic or light minded ladies are only to be tolerated) have made, in many instances, the most useful and practical of all the sex. Give to all men and to all women the best education possible. Cultivate their understanding in the highest degree. Our whole community ought to be raised up on a higher level. To accomplish this object it is indispensable that many females be well taught in the higher branches of knowledge. We rejoice to learn that plans are in a process of development which bear on this great object. Every liberal minded man will wish them the most entire success.

It is a matter of great regret that in the new constitution of Tennessee, some provision is not inserted for the abolition of slavery. We had fondly hoped that there was virtue and moral courage enough in that State to *attempt* something, at least on this momentous subject. The noble mountains and vallies of that State, ought never to have been contaminated with slavery. Her citizens will rue the day when they failed to take some preliminary measure to put an end to a condition of society, which is full of the elements of ruin.

The attention of the legislature of Massachusetts will be prominently directed at the next session, to the common school system of the State. The income of several hundred thousand dollars is to be applied to the support of primary education. We trust that wise councils will preside over the measures which may be adopted. A committee of the legislature, enlightened *theoretically* as well as practically, should be appointed; men who are accustomed to take comprehensive views, and who will be willing to labor hard. If the full statistics, which ought to be returned from all the towns in the State, are furnished, a report of the highest authority and value may be made.



*Great Britain.*

The following is the declaration of the British Voluntary Church Society, lately formed. "The support and extension of religious worship, by means of voluntary contributions, is regarded by the members of this society as one of the most sacred duties they owe to their Creator; but they fully believe, and they thus publicly declare, that the employment of the civil power to enforce the performance of this duty, is inconsistent with the spirit and the precepts of Christianity; dishonoring to its Founder, and injurious to the best interests of mankind. Its object shall be to disseminate, by publications and otherwise, the principles on which it was founded, and to use all other Christian means for removing the dishonor and injury done to religion by its compulsory support."

The revenue of the church establishment of England and Wales, by a return just presented to parliament, amounts to £4,000,000. The archbishops and bishops have an income of £181,000; the deans and chapters of £270,000; and the annual value of the benefices is £3,200,000.

The bill for the admission of the dissenters into the English universities has been lost in the lords by a decisive vote. It passed on its third reading in the commons by a majority of eighty-nine. The original statutes for the foundation of Oxford and Cambridge admitted persons of all creeds. As early as 1231, Henry III. issued an ordinance admitting to Oxford the masters and scholars of the university of Paris, who had been driven from that university by persecution. It appears that twenty-five out of the thirty-five colleges were founded at Oxford and Cambridge before there existed any church of England. James I. directed that tests should be imposed on the taking of degrees at Cambridge. The exclusion of dissenters has been justified on the ground that the colleges were ecclesiastical corporations, that they were schools of theology, and that the morning and evening services of religion were indispensable. As to the first of these points, sir William Blackstone says expressly that they are not ecclesiastical but lay corporations; and professor Pusey, the present regius professor of Hebrew, at Oxford, says, "One fortnight comprises the beginning and end of all the public instruction which any candidate for holy orders is required to attend, previous to entering upon his profession." According to the returns of parliament, there have been 418 petitions against the admission of dissenters, containing 40,881 signatures; and 1,103 petitions, containing 344,000 signatures, for the dissenters' claims, of which admission to the universities was one.

*Dissenters in England and Wales.*

There are chapels belonging to the

Congregationalists,	1,663	Friends,	396
Baptists in England,	1,045	Orthodox Presbyterians,	58
do. Wales,	159	Unitarians,	195
Methodists,	3,911	Roman Catholics,	405
Home Missionary,	241	Small denominations,	177

Total, 8,250

The average number of attendants at each of the above chapels is estimated at 400, which gives a total of 3,300,000. One third more may be added for children, invalids, &c. making 4,400,000. The above statement shows an increase in the number of dissenters' chapels since 1812, of 4,800.

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## OBITUARY NOTICES.

### LAFAYETTE.

GILBERT MOTTIER LAFAYETTE was born at Chavagnac, near Brionde, in Auvergne, Sept. 6, 1757, was educated in the college of Louis le Grand, in Paris, placed at court, as an officer in one of the guards of honor, and, at the age of seventeen was married to the granddaughter of the duke of Noailles. In the summer of 1776, he was stationed on military duty at Metz, being then an officer in the French army. Having heard, by means of the duke of Gloucester, brother of the king of England, who was then at Metz, intelligence respecting the progress of the rebellion of the American colonies against Britain, as it was termed, conceived the ardent desire of embarking for America, and joining the American army. His father had been killed at the battle of Minden, and his property amounting to an annual revenue of 200,000 livres, was at his own disposal. After surmounting great obstacles, he finally embarked secretly in a vessel of his own, at Passage, a Spanish port, and arrived early in June, at Georgetown, South Carolina. He joined the American army, and was appointed a major general a month before he reached the age

of twenty. Washington received him with great favor, and admitted him into his own family. On the 11th of September, he was wounded in the battle of Brandywine. He was employed in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island in 1778. In 1779, he went to France, where, by his personal exertions, a treaty was concluded in our favor, and he returned with the intelligence that a French army would soon be sent to this country. His forced march to Virginia; raising 2,000 guineas at Baltimore, on his own credit, to supply the wants of his troops; his rescue of Richmond; his long trial of generalship with Cornwallis; the storming of the redoubt at Yorktown, are well known events in his history. In 1781, he returned to France full of honors. At the particular request of Washington, he re-visited this country, the third time, and was every where received with the greatest enthusiasm. After his return to France, he was engaged in endeavoring to mitigate the condition of the Protestants in France, and to effect the abolition of slavery. In the assembly of 1787, he proposed the suppression of *lettres de cachet*, and of the state prisons, the emancipation of the Protestants, and the convocation of the representatives of the nation. July 15, 1787, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the National Guards. On the 6th of October, at the head of this body of troops, he saved the lives of the royal family. The constitution of a representative monarchy, which was the object of his wishes, was now proposed. In 1792, he was appointed one of the three major generals in the command of the French armies. He openly denounced the terrible jacobins, but that faction had become so strong, that nothing could be effected in behalf of the constitution. On the 5th of August, he was accused of treason before the assembly. He determined to leave the country, and take refuge on neutral ground. Having been captured by an Austrian patrol, he was delivered to the Prussians, by whom he was again transferred to Austria. He was carried with great secrecy to the prison of Olmütz, and cut off from all communication with his friends, who were not informed of his situation till 1794. His heroic wife and daughters obtained permission of the emperor of Austria to remain with him, which they did for the last two years of his imprisonment. He was finally released by Buonaparte, August 25, 1797. He returned to his estate at La Grange, and refused all the honors which Napoleon was anxious to heap upon him. On the restoration of the Bourbons, in 1814, he did not leave his retirement. In August, 1824, he landed in the United States, for the fourth time. He passed through the twenty-four States of the Union in a sort of triumphal procession. September 7th, 1825, he reached Havre on his return. In December following, the congress of the United States

made him a grant of \$200,000, in the shape of stock, bearing interest at six per cent, and redeemable December 31, 1834; and also a township of land. During the revolution of July, 1830, Lafayette was appointed general-in-chief of the National Guards of Paris, where his name was of the greatest service. August 17th, he was made marshal of France. His principles being perhaps too decidedly republican to please the new authorities, he sent in his resignation as chief of the guards in December, 1830.

His last illness was in its beginning exceedingly slight. He followed the remains of general Dulong to the grave, and caught a cold, which, fixing upon his lungs, caused his dissolution on the 20th of May, 1834. He was buried with many funeral honors.

His character is drawn with great truth and beauty in a discourse of the Rev. N. L. Frothingham of Boston, from which we make an extract.

“He never swerved from his principles; never temporized with the weak, nor gave way before the strong. None ever held his integrity faster than he, through all good and evil repute. He was inflexibly consistent; and this, which is a rare merit under any circumstances, becomes the more remarkable, when it is displayed as his was amidst troubled and disjointed times, when the world was maddening in a tumult of changes, and the wise were distracted, and the wicked ruled, and the firm were divided with perplexity and fear. He stood to his purposes with an unshaken constancy, and permitted nothing on earth to feel itself his master. His courage towered up above the most frightful emergencies, and his self-possession abode the proof, when others were losing their reason. He refused ever to despair of a cause that he had once believed to be good. He refused to withdraw his hand from its most unrequited and ill-requited toils, from its sternest perils and dearest sacrifices. It was nothing to him where he stood, so that he stood for the right. He made no compromises with rabble or emperor. The violence of the low could neither intimidate his resolution nor wear out his patience, while the will of the earth’s mightiest and proudest ones could not imagine for a moment that it had the right or the power to dictate to his.

“But in all this rigid perseverance and high honor was there no harshness, no arrogance, no repulsive or unlovely admixture? So far from it, as you all well know, that nothing can be conceived more mild and courteous, more unaffected and unpretending, than his whole carriage of himself towards his fellow men. He won hearts, wherever there could be truly said to be hearts, by the gentle dignity and the meek courageousness of his bearing. He was full of quick



sympathies. He was forbearing and kind. He embraced all within the regards of an unwearied benevolence. The elements of his nature were all strong, but all kept in their proper places. He united with singular happiness those, which are usually found severed and opposed. There were tenderness and force dwelling together in him, like the leopard and the kid of the ancient prediction."

#### EARL BATHURST.

THIS nobleman, who has lately deceased, was made a member of the privy council in 1793, in 1804 master of the mint, in 1807 president of the board of trade, in 1809 secretary of state for foreign affairs, and for the sixteen following years, secretary of state for the colonial department. In 1828, he was appointed president of the council. Since the resignation of the Wellington administration, he has taken no prominent part in public affairs. He married a sister of the duke of Richmond, and left six children.

#### LADY HEWLEY.

As considerable interest has been excited respecting this lady, we have collected a few particulars of her history. She was the only child of Robert Wolrych, Esq., of Gray's Inn, and was born in 1627. Her husband, Sir John Hewley, was also a lawyer, and was member of parliament for York, in the time of Charles II. Some time after the passing of the Uniformity Act, the Rev. Ralph Ward, one of the nonconforming ministers, became domestic chaplain in the house of Sir John Hewley, where he was very useful. Under his ministry the excellent Christian character of Lady Hewley was formed. He continued his ministerial services to the York Dissenters, occasionally under severe persecution, for thirty years. Baxter says he was "a substantial divine, well acquainted with systematic and polemical divinity, and particularly with the Popish, Arminian and Socinian controversies." Thomas Colton, M. D., succeeded Mr. Ward. He was a worthy and eminently useful minister. His funeral sermon for Lady Hewley was printed in the 9th volume of the London Congregational Magazine. In the church of St. Saviour there was formerly this inscription, "Here lies interred the body of Sir John Hewley, late of the city of York, knight, who departed this life, August 24, 1697, aged 78. In the same bed of dust are deposited the remains of dame Sarah Hewley, the virtuous consort of the same Sir John Hewley who exchanged this life for a better on the 23d of August, 1710.

Among the dead in Christ who shall rise first." By indenture, dated January 13, 1704, lady Hewley assigned to trustees for benevolent purposes, various descriptions of property, the clear current rent of which in 1826, amounted to £2,830. The objects contemplated by her ladyship were "poor and godly preachers of Christ's holy gospel; poor and godly widows" of such ministers; "godly persons in distress; the preaching of Christ's holy gospel in such places as the trustees should think fit; the education of pious young men for the ministry; the support of an alms-house at York," &c. It is highly probable that all the ministers who officiated at the church, whether as pastors or assistants, were orthodox, till the time of Newcome Cappe, who was educated under Dr. Aikin, of Kibworth, Dr. Doddridge of Northampton, and at Glasgow. When he settled at York, towards the close of 1755, he had evidently adopted Arian sentiments. Most of the trustees also coincided with him. The case is yet in the court of Chancery.

#### SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

Died at Highgate, near London, on the 26th of July, 1834, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in the 63d year of his age. He was born at Ottery, St. Mary, Devonshire, where his father, the Rev. John Coleridge, was a clergyman. His father was twice married, and died in 1782, aged 62. By his first marriage, he had three daughters; by his second, one daughter and nine sons. Of the children, who arrived at years of maturity, were Colonel, Rev. Edward, Rev. George, and Samuel Taylor. The father was an eminent classical scholar, and assisted Dr. Kennicott in his collection of Hebrew manuscripts. By the influence of friends, Samuel was admitted to Christ's hospital, London, a well known charitable establishment. The master, Mr. Bowyer, was a most thorough scholar. The severe and excellent classical discipline of the school, is very finely described by Mr. Coleridge, in his *Biographia Literaria*. In his 19th year, he entered Jesus College, Cambridge. Poetry and philosophy were his favorite studies. A volume of his poems appeared in 1794, and excited great expectations. In the same year came out his *Fall of Robespierre*, an historical drama, which was well received. At Oxford, he met with Robert Southey and Robert Lovell, both of whom, like himself, were enthusiastic friends of liberty. They left Oxford with a view of reforming the political world. Coleridge delivered lectures at Bristol on the approaching happiness of the human race, by means of republicanism. He published *Conciones ad Populum*, or Addresses to the People, and a protest against certain bills then pending for suppress-

ing seditious meetings. He established a journal called the *Watchman*, which attracted but little notice, and which did not survive the tenth number. He then published a second volume of poems, which passed through several editions. Despairing of the reform of liberty in the old world, the young poets conceived the design of carrying their theory into execution in the new world. This enterprise was broken off by their connection in marriage with three beautiful sisters, of the name of Fricker. Coleridge took up his abode in Nether Stowey, near Bridgewater. He was relieved from his pecuniary embarrassments by the liberality of the Messrs. Wedgewood, who enabled him to complete his literary studies in Germany. He learned German in Ratzeburg. In company with Wordsworth, he had a conversation with Klopstock, in which the latter gives his opinion of Lessing, Goethe, Wieland, Kotzebue, and others. Coleridge then went by the way of Hanover to Göttingen, where he attended the lectures of Blumenbach and Eichorn. After his return he wrote the leading articles for the *Morning Post*, translated some dramas of Schiller, and accompanied Sir Alexander Ball, as secretary to Malta. His wife in the mean time lived with Southey, at his house in Keswick. Coleridge had resided for a number of years previous to his death at the house of a physician, at Highgate, near London, astonishing and delighting his numerous visitors by his almost unequalled conversational powers. The miscellaneous essays which he published under the title of the *Friend*, are his most popular productions. A new edition of his poems is now coming out in London. He had a great predilection for German writers, among whom Schiller and Goethe were his favorites.

We here subjoin the account which Coleridge gives of his discipline at school.

"At school I enjoyed the inestimable advantage of a very sensible, though at the same time a very severe master. (The Rev. James Bowyer, many years head master of the grammar school, Christ Hospital.) He early moulded my taste to the preference of Demosthenes to Cicero, of Homer and Theocritus to Virgil, and again of Virgil to Ovid. He habituated me to compare Lucretius, (in such extracts as I then read,) Terence, and above all, the chaster poems of Catullus, not only with the Roman poets of the so called silver and brazen ages; but even with those of the Augustan era: and on grounds of plain sense and universal logic to see and assert the superiority of the former, in the truth and nativeness, both of their thoughts and diction. At the same time that we were studying the Greek tragic poets, he made us read Shakspeare and Milton as lessons; and they were the lessons too, which required most time and trouble to *bring up* so as to escape his censure. I learnt from him that poetry, even that of the loftiest and seemingly that of the wildest odes, had a logic of its own, as severe as that of science; and more difficult, because more subtle, more complex, and dependent on more, and more fugitive causes. In the truly great poets, he would say, there is a reason assignable, not only for every word, but for the position of every word; and I well remember, that availing himself of the synonymies to the Homer of Didymus, he made us attempt to show, with regard to each, *why* it would not have answered the same purpose; and *wherein* consisted the peculiar fitness of the word in the original text.

"There was one custom of our master which I cannot pass over in silence, because

I think it imitable and worthy of imitation. He would often permit our theme exercises, under some pretext of want of time, to accumulate till each lad had four or five to be looked over. Then placing the whole number *abreast* on his desk, he would ask the writer why this or that sentence might not have found as appropriate a place under this or that thesis: and if no satisfying answer could be returned, and two faults of the same kind were found in one exercise, the irrevocable verdict followed, the exercise was torn up, and another on the same subject to be produced, in addition to the tasks of the day."—*Biog. Lit.* Vol. I. p. 7—9.

REV. EBENEZER PORTER, D. D.

Dr. PORTER, president of the theological seminary, at Andover, died April 5, 1834, aged 62. There were several traits in the character of this venerated man, which are worthy of universal imitation. One was his exact and methodical arrangement of all his business transactions, connected with a benevolent heart and extensive charities. No individual was ever less obnoxious to the charge of avarice. We never heard the least intimation of any thing resembling meanness in his intercourse with his fellow creatures. At the same time, a thoroughly bred accountant could not have managed his affairs more prudently and systematically. His habits in this particular, as all good habits must be, descended to things minute and comparatively unimportant. Another interesting reminiscence of Dr. Porter, is his finished style of writing. So far as the nice balance of sentences, the harmonious collocation of their members, and the selection of apt and beautiful words are concerned, he was rarely ever excelled. We have the same associations respecting the perfection of his style, which we have with Playfair's, and Thomas Campbell's and professor Frisbie's. His words fell on the ear like the music of Handel. In his best discourses, the extreme polish was not apparent. The order was so logical, and the sentences were so accurately adjusted, that we never thought of the indefatigable attention, which had been bestowed upon them. The sentiment was so clearly and precisely expressed as to occupy the entire attention of the hearer. It found a lodgment in the inmost soul. After all which may be said respecting unstudied nature, the outbreking of natural eloquence, the happy disregard of rule and formality, of which we so frequently hear, it is refreshing to listen to well composed sentences, which have been subjected to the revision of a severely disciplined mind. There is a perfection in many of the sentences of Milton and Cowper, which we are utterly unable to describe, but which afford the highest mental pleasure. Dr. Porter's piety was remarkable for the attribute of clearness. He did not possess the spiritual imagination of Payson, or the amazing amplitude of John Howe, but the



objects of faith which came within the scope of his mental view, were most distinctly apprehended, and left on his character and conduct the most definite impressions.

#### HON. JONAS PLATT.

WE have not seen even a newspaper notice of the character of this excellent man. We knew him only as a friend of Christian charities, and as a member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. We heard him speak on one occasion with singular perspicuity and good sense, on some of the bearings of the Indian question. He was formerly a judge in the New York courts, and resided in the city of New York. He had retired, some time before his death, to an estate in the neighborhood of Lake Champlain.

#### HON. WILLIAM JOHNSON.

DIED in Brooklyn, Long Island, August 4th, the Hon. William Johnson, of South Carolina, associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. He was, we believe, very highly esteemed in his judicial capacity. We recollect one or two notable instances where his decisions militated against very favorite opinions prevalent in the southern portions of the union. He was author of a life of General Nathaniel Greene.

#### HON. WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

THIS distinguished individual, lately deceased in Georgia. He was a senator in Congress from 1807 to 1813, afterwards secretary of the treasury and of war, candidate for the office of president of the United States, and finally a judge of one of the circuit courts in his native State. His opinions on the subject of the rights of the Indians and of the slaves, were, we believe, much more liberal and disinterested, than those of many of his fellow citizens. In his political sentiments, he accorded with those generally held by the eminent men in Virginia. One cause of his failure in not being elected president, was his very feeble and precarious health.

## REV. GREGORY T. BEDELL.

DR. BEDELL, rector of St. Andrews Church, Philadelphia, died at Baltimore, August 30, aged forty-three. He was one of the most amiable of men, and one of the most useful servants of his Lord and Master. He accomplished no inconsiderable amount of good, by various publications, which he wrote or edited.

## GEN. CHARLES LARNED.

THIS individual died in Detroit, August 13, 1834. He was a native of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, but for many years, had been a prominent member of the community at Detroit, the capital of Michigan territory. He possessed a mind of considerable acuteness, as he had been trained to the legal profession.

## GEN. LEAVENWORTH.

DIED at the Cross Timbers, Missouri Territory, July 22, brigadier general Leavenworth, of the United States' army. He was a native of New York, and was associated in the practice of the law with general Erastus Root, of Delaware county. In the last war, he acted a distinguished part, especially in the battles of Chippewa and Bridgewater. His services have been employed since that period, in the establishment of various military posts on our western frontier, and in watching over its interests, and administering its policy in regard to the Indian tribes. The command of the south-western frontier had been recently assigned to him, with a view to secure the benefits of his energy and experience in the anticipated movements of the dragoons, and his presence at the council, to be held with the Indians in that remote region. He died of a fever.

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## NOTICE.

It is proposed to unite hereafter the "BIBLICAL REPOSITORY" and "AMERICAN QUARTERLY OBSERVER." A distinct annunciation of the plan will be made in the course of a few days. The first number of the united work will be published on the first day of January, 1835. It will be enlarged to the size of the North American Review, embracing in the two volumes, which will be published, annually, 1,000 pages. The distinctive character in the plan, both of the Repository and of the Observer, will be fully maintained. The conductors will constantly aim to produce a work, which shall meet the wants of the mass of the intelligent and educated, and at the same time sustain a high rank in the estimation of the learned scholar. This arrangement is entered into, not because the proprietors of either of the publications had concluded to abandon the enterprise, as the subscription to both works has been uniformly increasing; but for the purpose of concentrating talent and patronage in one publication. We are happy to add, that the proposal, so far as it has been made known, is regarded with much favor. The work will be issued simultaneously at Boston and Andover.

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